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No Response From Chinese on Release of Angus Ward and Staff

CONSUL GENERAL CLUBB SENDS LETTER TO CHINESE AUTHORITIES

EDITOR'S NOTE: Two dispatches, dated October 27 and October 31, received by the Department reported that Consul General Angus Ward and four members of his staff, arrested by the Chinese Communists in Mukden on October 24, are still in custody and all efforts by other members of the consulate staff to visit or effect the release of the United States representative have failed.

Vice Consul William M. Stokes reported that although he has not received permission to visit Mr. Ward or his staff, he has received and filled requests for food, heavy clothing, and bedding, presumably from the consul general.

Mr. Stokes also reported that he is preparing additional food parcels for delivery but that he will be unable to make delivery before specifically requested to do so.

Full details leading up to the alleged incident had been transmitted, Mr. Stokes reported. The Department has not received the details and presumes that the Chinese Communist authorities have suppressed the real facts.

Fourteen telegrams dispatched by Consul General Ward during the period October 10-31 are missing.

[Released to the press November 10]

No response has been received from the Chinese Communist authorities in Peiping to a request for the release of American Consul General Angus Ward and four members of his staff held under arrest and for the immediate withdrawal of Mr. Ward and his entire staff from Communist China.

The latest communication to the Chinese Communists was a letter from American Consul General O. Edmund Clubb in Peiping sent on November 3 to General Chou En-lai, who is in charge of foreign affairs for the Chinese Communist regime.

The text of Mr. Clubb's letter follows:

"In my letter of October 8, 1949, I brought to your attention the matter of the isolation, since November 1948, of the American Consular compounds at Mukden, of Consul General Angus I. Ward and his entire staff. Under instructions of my Government, I would now invite your attention to the circumstance that, according to information received from a member of the Mukden staff Mr. Ward, Foreign Service clerk Ralph Rehberg, and mechanic Shiro Tatham, and alien employees Franco Cicogna and Alfred Kristan

were removed by police on October 24 on the charge that they had assaulted one of the Chinese personnel of that office. It was stated by the police at the time that they would be held for 2 or 3 days.

"It is requested that I be supplied with authoritative information regarding the matter in point for transmission to my government. It is requested particularly that I be informed whether Mr. Ward and the other consular employees are still held, if so, where. I invite your attention to the fact that the personnel in question have been isolated in their compounds under guard since November 20, 1948. As a consequence, the United States Government decided in May of this year to close the American consulate general at that point, which fact I communicated to the General Headquarters of the People's Liberation Army in a communication of May 19, 1949. Mr. Ward was appropriately instructed at the same time by the Department of State. The Mukden authorities, through the director of the Alien Affairs Office, on June 21 informed Mr. Ward that he and his staff would be permitted to depart Mukden with movable property and that upon the presentation of lists of staff and property to be evacuated, railway transportation would be provided. Mr. Ward was asked to designate the departure date for staff and property.

"Mr. Ward on July 19 notified the authorities that 13 of his staff were prepared to depart on July 27, the others to remain behind until there had been completed arrangements for the packing and shipment of effects. That request was renewed on August 12, with the departure date fixed for August 17. Those transportation facilities were, in fact, not provided. On September 3, after completion of packing, Mr. Ward sent a formal letter to the Mayor of Mukden requesting rail transportation to Peiping and Tientsin for himself and staff and dependents, excepting persons left behind in custodial capacity, with their baggage and American Government property. To

date those facilities have not been provided by the Mukden authorities.

"In short, the Mukden authorities have continued to refuse, without explanation or extenuating circumstances, to abide by their assurances of June 21 or even to indicate their intentions. Acting again under instruction of my government, on September 22, 1949, I sent a letter to Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh in respect to the matter in point, requesting that appropriate measures be taken to cause the Mukden authorities to extend promptly the transportation facilities required for the removal from Mukden of the personnel of the consulate general and their personal and official effects. In my reference letter of October 8, I took occasion to indicate the grave concern with which the United States Government regarded the arbitrary action of detention by the local authorities of American consular officials at Mukden and the continued failure of the Mukden authorities to provide facilities for withdrawal even after giving express assurances.

"The latest developments render more urgent still the taking of appropriate action to bring the matter to a speedy settlement. It is noted particularly that Mr. Ward and the others charged with the assault were, at the time of the alleged offense, still in close guard and that they have had no opportunity to report their version of the incident. And, be it noted, the present development follows upon the action of the Mukden authorities in detaining for nearly one year the American and non-American personnel of the consulate general at that point under close guard, which action was in the first instance said to be because of the need according them 'protection', in clear violation of established principles of international comity and practice respecting treatment of foreign consular officials. It is requested that this matter be brought to the attention of the highest authorities to the end that there shall promptly be taken appropriate measure to bring this matter to a speedy settlement. It is requested particularly that the British Consular Representative at Mukden be given the opportunity to see Mr. Ward and the other persons charged with assault, if they are still detained by the police, that the matter be handled in accord with established principles of international law and practice respecting treatment of foreign consular officials, and that the promised transportation facilities for removal from Mukden of the personnel of the consulate general with their personal and official effects be provided. In view of the serious nature of this matter and the widespread concern it has caused in the United States, I would emphasize my request for prompt action."

Chinese Communist Publish Notices on Real Estate Held by Aliens

[Released to the press November 7]

The Department of State announced today that it has been informed that certain Chinese Communist newspapers have published notices concerning the registration of real estate held by aliens. The following is an unofficial translation, from the Tientsin Communist newspaper, *Tien Chin Jih Pao*, of "measures governing registration of real estate of foreign residents in Tientsin":

Notification Mingmi Kungtzu 3806, People's Government. For Tientsin. "There are adopted and published measures governing the registration of real estate of foreign residents in Tientsin. Compliance with the measures by all foreign residents in Tientsin is requested. Huang Ching, Mayor."

Measures governing registration of real estate of foreign residents in Tientsin:

(1) All real estate of foreign residents in the municipal area (including Tangku Taku) shall go through the procedure of real estate registration at the Land Board of the People's Government. For Tientsin, according to the provisions of these measures. The period of application for the registration shall be from October 1 to November 15.

(2) Foreign residents applying for the registration of real estate shall obtain application forms from the Land Board and shall fill out accurately the particulars stated in the application without concealment, omission or fabrication.

(3) Foreign residents applying for registration of real estate shall go through the following procedure. The lessee or the legitimate agent shall personally appear at the Land Board to accomplish the procedure:

A. Submittal for examination of the complete set of title deeds for which the Land Board shall issue a receipt (where the deed was already submitted to the puppet land bureau), a receipt for it shall be produced.

B. The seal and residential certification of the applicant.

C. Where the applicant is a mission, school, company, business firm, social group or any other organization, its responsible person or an agent it designates shall handle the procedure.

D. Where the applicant is a legitimate agent, he shall apply for registration in the name of the lessee and shall also submit formal documentary evidence in regard to this appointment.

E. All title deed documents of the applicant originally in foreign languages shall be accompanied by a copy of accurate Chinese translation.

(4) Foreign residents, using the name of a Chinese or any other fictitious name for the purchase of real estate prior to the publication of the present measures, shall report the facts and apply for registration. They shall not hide the truth and shall particularly avoid actions of concealing enemy and puppet property or of infringing upon property rights to public or private real estate. Violators shall be dealt with according to law.

(Continued on page 795)

ESTABLISHMENT OF SOVIET-SPONSORED EAST GERMAN REPUBLIC

by Henry B. Cox

Climaxing a long series of political maneuvers and an insistent propaganda campaign calling for the creation of a "national front" government aimed at German national liberation, representatives of the Soviet-sponsored People's Council (Volksrat) announced on October 7 the establishment of the German Democratic Republic—a "provisional government of democratic Germany."

With Wilhelm Pieck as president and Otto Grotewohl, co-chairman of the Soviet-backed Socialist Unity Party (SED), as its chancellor, the new government, which came into being without benefit of elections, claims to include all elements of the population irrespective of past or present political affiliation and poses as the spokesman for all Germany. The SED has a dominant position in Grotewohl's newly appointed cabinet. He holds 6 of the 14 portfolios; the Soviet-dominated East Zone Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) account for an additional 5 posts.

The Eastern zone Constitution prepared by the Third People's Congress in May 1949 comes into effect with the entrance into office of the new government.

Soviet authorities have announced the transfer of administrative functions heretofore handled by the Soviet Military Administration (SMA) to the newly created People's Chamber (Volkskammer). The "Soviet Control Commission" now replaces the Soviet Military Administration. Indications also point to the Soviets' concluding possibly a separate peace treaty with their newest satellite and withdrawing Soviet occupation troops within a year.

Developments Leading to Establishment of German Democratic Republic

The founding of the so-called German Democratic Republic may be viewed as the culmination of a series of Soviet-sponsored political moves beginning with the election in November 1947 of a "People's Congress."

The Congress, purporting to represent all Germany, was constituted for the purpose of selecting an all-German delegation to attend the 1947 London meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers to support Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov's demands for early German political unity. Of its 2,215 delegates, 893 were Communists and 386 represented Communist-front mass organizations; of the remainder, 373 were hand-picked "non-partisan" fellow-travelers; and 472 represented the Eastern zone CDU and LDP. The position of these two parties is that of a tolerated minority opposition which lends some semblance of democratic freedom to the Soviet zone political scene.

The Council of Foreign Ministers, however, refused to receive the delegation; the Congress was thereupon transformed into a large propaganda organization which served the Communists by exploiting the theme of German unity.

The Second People's Congress, which convened in Berlin 3 days before the dissolution of the Quadripartite Allied Control Council, prepared the ground for the so-called popular initiative of May-June 1948 in which millions of signatures were collected on petitions for German unity to be presented to the Allied Control Council.

Three months later, the People's Council (Volksrat), a smaller body selected by the People's

Congress, constituted itself as the spokesman of the German people; and the Council's constitution committee proceeded to prepare a draft constitution for a German state, which was completed in October 1948.

Desiring, however, to place the blame for the splitting of Germany on the Western powers, the Congress delayed approval of the Eastern constitution until 6 months later, just prior to the meeting of the United States, United Kingdom, and French Foreign Ministers in Washington in April 1949 where the decision was made to accord through the Occupation Statute a future West German regime a large degree of self-government.

As the completion of the Bonn Constitution or Basic Law of the Federal Republic of Germany drew near, the People's Congress attempted to forestall the establishment of the West German Republic through a futile invitation to the leaders of the Bonn Parliamentary Council to meet at Brunswick, in the British zone, for talks on German unity. All-German unity talks were subsequently held under People's Congress sponsorship in Hanover on May 20, 1949, but they attracted response only from Communist fellow-travelers and a few politicians. The British Military Government subsequently ordered the talks stopped.

Elections for People's Congress

On May 15-16, 1949, an election of delegates for the Third People's Congress was held in the Soviet zone for the purpose of supporting Vyshinsky at the Paris Council of Foreign Ministers by an impressive vote for unity. As in the case of prior Soviet-sponsored elections this election, too, was a fiasco.

Forty percent of the voters made clear by their actions their rejection of the single slate of delegates that was presented. This rejection is even more significant in view of the irregularities which allegedly accompanied the casting and counting of the ballots. Nevertheless, on May 29-30, the Third People's Congress ratified the Eastern draft constitution and selected a "German delegation" to attend the Paris meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers. It also issued a manifesto that called for the creation of a "national front" and reiterated an earlier appeal for German unity to the Council of Foreign Ministers.

The manifesto called for the following preparatory steps for a German peace treaty: the

drafting of 20 principles based on the Yalta and Potsdam agreements; the restoration of German administrative and economic unity; the restoration of a uniform currency throughout Germany; the establishment of a provisional central German government which would include representatives of the mass organizations of the Soviet zone; and the calling of a peace conference in which this provisional German government would participate.

Also included in the manifesto were "peace treaty principles," listing as the duties of the German people: reparations, with all payments made thus far to be deducted from the total; the final liquidation of Germany's war potential; the democratization and demilitarization of German economic and social life; the punishment of war criminals; and the acknowledgment of four-power control over German political and economic development. It declared that Germany was entitled to an all-German constitution that would insure "democratic development" and the free development of German resources for peaceful purposes. In addition, the manifesto called for the evacuation of all occupation troops.

Again the Council of Foreign Ministers declined to receive the People's Congress delegation, and the latter organization thereafter devoted itself to careful political maneuvering and planning in order to ready itself for the role it was later to assume as the nucleus for an East zone government.

Faced with certain defeat in any type of election, as evidenced by their experience in the May elections of Congress delegates, the SED leaders and their Soviet sponsors found themselves faced by a serious dilemma in their efforts to obtain sufficient popular support for the establishment of an Eastern government. As later developments demonstrated, the Soviets and their Communist puppets found the elections to be "unnecessary" for the formation of the new government.

On October 1, 1949, the Soviet Union in notes to the United States, France, and Great Britain protested the formation of the Federal Republic of Germany and declared that "... the Soviet Government considers it necessary to state that inasmuch as there has been formed at Bonn a separate government as indicated, a new situation has been created in Germany at the present time which renders of particularly great importance the fulfillment of the tasks for the restoration of

the unity of Germany as a democratic peace-loving state . . ."

Communists Demand Independent Government

The delivery of the Soviet note served as the signal for the well-oiled Communist political machinery to swing into action. On October 2, groups and organizations of all parties and classes throughout the East zone made "spontaneous" appeals and "demands" and called for the immediate establishment of an "all-German" independent government.

These demands and appeals increased in the days which followed. On October 4, the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet-controlled SED gave formal party approval to a campaign to create a "provisional government for democratic Germany" and for authorization to hold conferences with other groups for the formation of a government. In line with the fiction that the SED is only one of the participating parties in the "national front," the party committee "suggested" a 16-point program for general adoption.

In brief, this proposed program of the future government considers that the tasks of the Eastern government will be "to assure the well-being and independence of the German people, to follow an economic policy free from capitalistic oppression, and to reinforce the bonds of friendship between the new Germany, the Soviet Union and the people's democracies. It will endeavor to obtain in the immediate future the withdrawal of the occupation troops, and the rapid signature of a treaty of peace." The platform, in general, avoided all mention of communization measures, included enough points to cater in part to almost every group, and offered platitudes to which everyone agrees but which have defied efforts at practical application because of Soviet intransigence.

On October 5, the presidium of the People's Council (Volksrat) called that body to meet on Friday, October 7 to take the action which the situation demanded. At this meeting, the Volksrat, convening in the Soviet sector of Berlin, transformed itself (without benefit of elections) into a People's Chamber (Volkskammer) and claimed authority to speak for all Germany. Over the protests of spokesmen of the non-Communist (though collaborationist) Soviet zone Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), the general elections for a

"permanent" government were postponed until October 15, 1950.

The newly activated Volkskammer then passed four laws: (1) constituting itself as "the provisional People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic; (2) providing for the establishment of a provisional government until a new popular assembly is elected as constitutionally required; (3) declaring the Volksrat Constitution, approved by the People's Congress on May 30, 1949, to be in force; and (4) providing the basis for the formation of the Laenderkammer or Chamber of States consisting of 34 representatives chosen by the Diets (Landtage) of the five Soviet zone states (Laender) with 7 additional members from Berlin as observers.

Otto Grotewohl, co-chairman of the SED was named Minister-President, or Chancellor, and Johannes Diekmann was appointed President of the People's Chamber (Volkskammer), which will be the dominant body of the bicameral parliament. Besides the Minister-President and his three deputies, Hermann Kastner (LDP), Otto Nuschke (CDU), and Walter Ulbricht (SED), the new government has 14 ministries. The new Cabinet is composed of representatives of the following parties: Socialist Unity Party (SED) 6; Christian Democratic Union (CDU) 3; German Democratic Peasant Party (DBD) 1; Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) 2; National Democratic Party (NDP) 1; and 1 independent.

It should be noted that the Soviets brought into existence the German Democratic Peasant Party and the National Democratic Party shortly prior to the establishment of the new government in order to give it the semblance of a broad coalition. As mentioned previously, the Soviet zone Christian Democratic Union and the Liberal Democratic Party, although bearing names identical with their counterparts in the Western zones, are decidedly restricted in the extent to which they can operate independent of Soviet supervision. The newly appointed chief of the Soviet diplomatic mission to the East German Republic, Gen. Georgij M. Pushkin, who has announced his intention to fight opposition forces, may even curtail their independence more rigidly.

Communist Predominance

The inclusion in this branch of parliament of all units comprising the national front assured

Communist predominance in the new People's Chamber despite its steadily waning voting strength in the Soviet zone. Such organizations as the Soviet-sponsored "Women's League," "Peasants Union," and others that will have representation regardless of their lack of standing as political parties will give the Communists an overwhelming majority. This majority is also in effect in the upper house (Laenderkammer) where, out of 34 delegates, the SED has named 17. Other parties are represented in the Laenderkammer as follows: Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) 9; Christian Democratic Union (CDU) 7; and German Democratic Peasant Party (DBD) 1.

The Volksrat at its final meeting on October 7 issued a 20-point "manifesto," embodying the 16 points of the SED "program" of October 4. Although not all 20 of the "points" deserve repetition here, the following, because of their propaganda appeal to all Germans, are the most significant:

1. German unity and the elimination of the special status of the Ruhr and the Saar; 2. the conclusion of a peace treaty and the subsequent withdrawal of occupation troops; 3. the restoration of full sovereignty to the Germans; 4. normalization of life in Berlin; 5. a unified currency; 6. the prevention of foreign interests gaining control of German economy and capital; 7. the cessation of dismantling; 8. the cancellation of all restrictions on foreign trade by the Western powers "for reasons of competition"; and 9. The development of Germany's natural markets in eastern and southeastern Europe.

To complete the sequence of events attending the establishment of the new government, the Diets of the five Laender of the Soviet zone voted, on

October 10, to prolong their life for a year and postpone popular elections until October 15, 1950 (in accordance with the Volkskammer resolution). They also selected their delegates to the Laenderkammer as provided by the constitution. The democratic bloc of East Berlin likewise chose its seven observers.

Soviet Military Governor Tschuikov received the Presidium of the Volkskammer, the Minister-President, made a declaration transferring the administrative functions of the Soviet Military Administration to the Provisional Government, and announced the creation of a Soviet Control Commission to replace the Soviet Military Administration and insure the fulfillment of the Potsdam and other four-power agreements.

The two houses of the new government, the Volkskammer and the Laenderkammer, met in joint session on October 11 and unanimously chose Wilhelm Pieck as President. On October 12, Minister-President Grotewohl presented himself and his cabinet to the Volkskammer and outlined his governmental program. In the presence of Soviet Ambassador Semjanov and representatives of several Soviet satellite states, Grotewohl received unanimous approval from the Chamber.

Thus, within a space of only 10 days, the Soviets brought into being their latest satellite government without benefit of elections or other democratic process. Its establishment accentuates the domestic and international problems which face the Western powers and the democratically constituted Federal Republic of Germany. With the successful solution of these problems rests the future of all Germany and perhaps even that of Western civilization.

ECOSOC ACTION ON SOCIAL ISSUES

by Savilla M. Simons

In opening the ninth session of the Economic and Social Council, held in Geneva, July 5 to August 15, the President, James Thorn of New Zealand, said: "We must not disappoint millions of men and women who long desperately for some way out of their unhappy situation, so that they may live like dignified human beings in a peaceful world." He appealed to the Council to make an effort "to seek understanding in a spirit of friendliness."

The Council responded by showing perhaps a greater amount of cooperation and friendliness than in any other recent session. The Russians and their satellites, in general, refrained from filibustering tactics and indulged in less vitriolic debate than in other recent sessions. As a result, the ninth session proved to be hard working and businesslike with a record of substantial accomplishment.

Despite the distractions of a midsummer meeting in Switzerland, the Council completed action in 6 weeks on an agenda of 52 items. Many of these items, in both the economic and social fields, were of great significance. Those relatively unimportant constituted a small but essential step in a series of steps dealing with an international problem. Many of the items on the agenda at each Council session are the current chapter of a long serial story of continuing efforts to deal with a specific international problem that interferes with the well-being of people.

Economic development stood out as the subject of greatest interest at this session, and the outstanding accomplishment was the adoption of a comprehensive resolution on technical assistance

for economic development. Nevertheless, the Council took action on a number of significant social issues.

ACTION BASED ON COMMISSION REPORTS

The reports of subsidiary and related United Nations bodies are taking an increasing share of the Council's time and attention. The Council considered the reports of 12 functional and regional commissions, which are subsidiary to the Council. Five of the nine functional commissions advise the Council on subjects of a social character, and their reports constitute the basis of much of the action taken by the Council in the social field.

Social Commission

A major commission, the Social Commission, advises the Council on social welfare and other aspects of the social field not covered by specialized intergovernmental agencies.

CONVENTION ON TRAFFIC IN PERSONS

Major consideration was given to a draft convention on the suppression of traffic in persons and the exploitation of the prostitution of others prepared by the Social Commission at its fourth session held in May 1949. This draft revises and consolidates the substance of four existing international agreements. It is the first major step taken in this field by the United Nations since it assumed responsibility for activities formerly carried by the League of Nations to suppress the traffic in women and children. In accordance with current ideas concerning effective treatment of prostitution, the draft emphasizes the rehabilita-

tion of prostitutes and the elimination of any form of licensing or health certification. Disagreement concerning the draft centered on the abolition of certification for any purpose. The representative of France, with some Latin American support, urged an amendment to provide for registration for health purposes as is done under the present French system. After considering the proposed Convention article by article, the Council submitted the Commission's draft with a record of the Council's discussion to the General Assembly for consideration at its current meeting.

ADVISORY SOCIAL WELFARE SERVICES

A decision of significance for future United Nations action and technical assistance programs was taken when the Council, on the recommendation of the Social Commission, asked the General Assembly to make the Advisory Social Welfare Services a continuing activity. The United Nations assumed this program in 1946 as an emergency temporary activity to aid war-devastated countries to strengthen their social welfare programs in order to deal more effectively with urgent postwar problems. Each year for three successive years the program had been authorized for one year.

The program has provided to governments at their request (1) consultants to advise them on specific problems or programs, (2) fellowships to social-welfare officials for 6 months observation and study in another country, (3) demonstration equipment for use in physical rehabilitation, and (4) seminars and literature for training purposes. Since these services have demonstrated their practical value, the member governments have shown a growing interest in extending them to all types of countries and in making them a part of the continuing program. The Council asked the Assembly to provide for in the future the Advisory Social Welfare Services regularly in the United Nations budget. It recommended for 1950 approximately the same level of expenditures as for 1949, for which \$675,000 was appropriated.

HOUSING

A separate agenda item on the report of the Secretary-General on a comprehensive program of work in the field of housing that might be undertaken by the United Nations was considered in conjunction with the Social Commission report. The Council decided that the proposed integrated

program should first be reviewed by the Social Commission, which was asked to consider this subject at its meeting in December in order to make recommendations to the next session of the Council in February 1950. In addition the Secretariat was asked to consult member governments about the focus of future international programs on housing and the services of interest to them.

A second resolution on housing provided for a meeting of experts in 1950 in a tropical area to consider technical questions relating to housing and town plannings for lower-income groups in the humid tropics. In 1948, the Council had approved a meeting of this kind but it had not been held because enough funds had not been allowed to hold the meeting away from the United Nations headquarters at Lake Success.

EXPERT COMMITTEE ON PREVENTION OF CRIME

The Council approved a United States proposal for a meeting in 1950 of the Expert Committee which advises the Secretariat and the Social Commission on policies and programs in the field of the prevention of crime and treatment of offenders. This Committee met in 1949, but because of the technical character of the work in this field, it seemed important for the Committee to meet again in 1950.

SESSIONS OF THE SOCIAL COMMISSION

The Council approved a second session of the Social Commission in 1949 to be held in early December so that the Commission can deal with subjects on its agenda which it was not able to consider at its session in May, because it had to give priority to the drafting of the convention on traffic in persons.

The United States proposed authorization also of two sessions of the Commission in 1950 because of the Commission's heavy work program. In 1948, a comprehensive work program in social welfare was approved. The Commission, however, has not yet been able to consider a program for study and action with respect to the number one subject in this program—family, youth, and child welfare. Other important subjects are also awaiting consideration. The proposal for a second Commission session in 1950 was opposed, however, because it would entail extra expense and an interruption in the work of the Secretariat. A compromise proposal was agreed to that the 1950 session, to be held in April, should be long enough

to enable the Commission to cover its heavy work program. The session is expected to last 5 weeks.

Human Rights

The Council took no significant action at this session on questions of human rights growing out of the work of the Commission on Human Rights, another major commission in the social field, since the schedule of work on the draft covenant on human rights and the draft measures of implementation, the major current project of the Commission, did not call for Council action at this time.

DRAFT COVENANT

The Commission had largely devoted its fifth session, held May 9 to June 20, 1949, to completing the drafts of the covenant and the measures of implementation, which were then to be circulated to governments for comments by January 1, 1950. The Commission, at its next session, will revise the drafts in the light of the replies and present them to the Council at its next summer session for consideration before submittal to the General Assembly at its 1950 session.

The Commission's only recommendation for action by the Council at this session on the draft covenant was that it request the Secretary-General to make a survey of the activities of the various United Nations bodies and specialized agencies coming within the scope of the covenant's articles on economic, educational, and cultural rights for use in consideration of these articles. It was agreed that such a survey did not require Council authorization.

RIGHT OF PETITIONS

The only Commission recommendation discussed at length had to do with the difficult question of the right of individuals, groups, and organizations to petition in instances of alleged violations of human rights. The Commission had asked the Council to have a study made of the problems involved in this question. The Council decided not to act on the recommended resolution on the basis that no action was required since the Commission has the right to request Secretariat studies. The Council recommended that the General Assembly take no further action on the problem of petitions at its fourth session in view of the fact that the Commission on Human Rights had made no final recommendations on this subject.

Freedom of Information

SUBCOMMISSION REPORT

Recommendations made by one of the subordinate bodies of the Human Rights Commission, the Subcommittee on Freedom of Information and of the Press, were also acted on. Two resolutions were to facilitate the Subcommittee's work by providing additional qualified staff and by setting up channels of communication with both official and nonofficial sources of information needed in its work. A proposal establishing procedures for handling communications in this field occasioned considerable discussion. The plan of the Subcommittee was revised to conform to the procedures established by the Commission on Human Rights and was referred to the Commission for review.

It was decided to take no action on a Soviet resolution asking the Commission to study measures in the United States and the United Kingdom which forbid interracial marriages. A Council resolution dealt with this subject a year earlier when the U.S.S.R. had introduced the same resolution on miscegenation.

The Council adopted unanimously a resolution on educational opportunities for women which asks the Secretariat and UNESCO to study actual practices and causes of discrimination in this field. The questionnaire on the legal status of women has already covered the legal aspects of this problem.

After considerable debate, the Council adopted a revised resolution on equal pay for equal work which noted that the ILO was soon to issue a report in preparation for consideration of this subject at the next International Labor Conference. A Belgian amendment to ask the ILO to study the economic value of women's work in the home touched off a long discussion on the importance of strengthening the home and family life. The Council referred the records of these discussions to the ILO for its information.

After considering a Commission resolution requesting funds for technical assistance in the fields of women's activities, opportunities for professional training, and the organization of household tasks, the Council decided to ask the Commission to make its proposals more specific. The Council also adopted a resolution recommending that the World Health Organization encourage the training of nurses.

RESOLUTIONS OF U.N. CONFERENCE

Closely related was Council action approving 13 resolutions on problems of international information. They were the last of a series of 43 resolutions adopted by the United Nations Conference on Freedom of Information held in 1948, most of which the Council had acted on earlier. Two of these resolutions referring to measures against propaganda for war touched off the familiar controversy over "warmongering." The United States representative replied to Soviet charges by a vigorous statement for more rather than less freedom as a cure for distorted information.

Status of Women

The Iron Curtain countries, as in other sessions, used the report of the Commission on the Status of Women as the springboard for a major propaganda effort. Long and enthusiastic speeches concerning the conditions of equality in the U.S.S.R., Poland, and Byelorussia and the gross inequalities in other countries preceded the introduction of a Soviet resolution expressing satisfaction over conditions in the U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia and condemning 10 other named countries. The resolution, which was repeated, stated that in the United States and the United Kingdom women's participation in political life is extremely limited, although women have equal rights in law and cited as evidence the fact that only 8 of 531 members of Congress are women.

The Council took the next step in a plan to develop an international convention on the nationality of married women designed to remove the present conflicts in the nationality laws of various countries. The adopted resolution asked the Secretariat to provide the Commission at its next session with a summary of comments and suggestions from governments for use in drafting a convention.

At the request of the Indian member, the Commission on the Status of Women had asked the Council to revise its procedures for the handling of communications submitted by nongovernmental organizations in order to avoid circulation of inaccurate information. This resolution was referred to the Council nongovernmental organization committee for consideration in connection with its review of consultative arrangements with nongovernmental organizations.

The debate and action on these various resolutions helped focus the attention of governments on

the continuing importance of avoiding discrimination against women.

Narcotic Drugs

The Council approved a number of steps recommended by the fourth session of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs to improve the international control of the illicit drug traffic. The Secretary-General was asked to send a special circular note to 27 countries which have not reported on their antinarcotics activities for the years 1946 and 1947. The Council approved decisions of the Commission to replace existing international instruments for the control of narcotic drugs with a new single convention. It also approved a plan for an *ad hoc* committee made up of the chief opium-producing countries to consider an interim agreement for limiting the production of new opium to medical and scientific needs.

Because of an alarming increase in illicit traffic in certain areas—particularly in Turkey, India, Iran, and Peru—the Council, in a United States resolution asked all governments to tighten their controls over the production and trade in narcotics and to strengthen their measures for the punishment of offenders. The Council requested the Secretary-General to further research in the methods of determining the origin of opium by chemical and physical analysis and to accept the United States offer to make laboratory facilities available for this purpose.

The Council also requested the General Assembly to appropriate additional funds to the Commission of Inquiry to enable the Commission to extend its investigations on the effects of chewing cocoa leaves to Bolivia and to spend at least three months in Bolivia and Peru.

Population Commission

In contrast with the Narcotics Commission which is responsible for an important action program of the United Nations, the Population Commission is concerned with fact finding.

Since the report of the fourth session of this Commission required no action, the Council merely took note of it. The Commission in this report made a number of recommendations to the Secretary-General concerning the technical work on demographic problems carried on by the Social Affairs Department. These recommenda-

tions were concerned with such subjects as data to be included in the second issue of the *Demographic Yearbook*; the procedure to be followed in the compilation of a demographic dictionary; technical problems involved in the 1950 population censuses; the improvement of migration statistics; plans for a study of the interrelationship of economic, social, and population data; recent trends in the birth rate; and studies on infant mortality. In its studies of many of these subjects, the Commission works closely with the Statistical Commission in its efforts to improve the reliability and comparability of statistical information.

In considering its work program, the Commission decided that in order to provide the Council and member governments with basic information needed for taking demographic factors into account in formulating economic and social policies, first priority should be given to work on the interrelationship of economic, social, and population changes. Current population increases make information of this kind of basic importance to the Council in its efforts to improve standards of living through technical assistance for economic development and other measures.

MAJOR SOCIAL ISSUES

A number of social issues unrelated to Commission reports were the subject of extended debate. The most controversial of these were the two agenda items on forced labor and trade-union rights.

Survey of Forced Labor

This item originated in a memorandum that the American Federation of Labor placed on the agenda at the sixth session of the Council. After deferring the item in two sessions, Ecosoc at its eighth session referred the subject to the ILO for advice and provided for a query of governments as to their willingness to participate in an impartial investigation of forced labor. Following a recommendation of the Governing Body of the ILO that such an investigation be made, the United States introduced in the ninth session a resolution providing for a joint UN-ILO commission to undertake an impartial inquiry into the nature and extent of forced labor.

The representative of the United Kingdom

opened the vituperative debate on this subject by his vigorous attack on the "Corrective Labor Codex" of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, which serves as a model for the U.S.S.R. corrective labor system, as a new form of slavery. The Soviet representative in an extended reply charged the United Kingdom delegate with "lies and slander" and defended the "corrective" system as a means of reeducating criminal offenders. The Soviets introduced a resolution, first proposed in the preceding session of the Council, that provided for an international commission of 110 to 125 representatives of trade unions, which would have given prominence to Communist-dominated organizations. Even to this body, the Soviet representative refused to promise access to the Soviet Union for purposes of investigation.

The United States representative, declaring that the Soviet "corrective" system violated at least 9 articles of the Declaration of Human Rights, supported an impartial inquiry as an immediate step in dealing with an urgent problem of human rights. The United States position was that reliable evidence could be obtained from testimony, even if on-the-spot investigations were impossible because of the lack of cooperation of some governments. Other governments, however, would agree to the inquiry only if the Soviet Union was willing to cooperate. In the end, a weak proposal, offered by Brazil, Denmark, and India was adopted by a vote of 10 to 5, with 3 abstentions. This resolution, stating that the replies from governments to the Secretary-General's inquiry do not provide the conditions under which a commission could operate effectively, merely directed the Secretary-General again to ask governments whether they would cooperate in an impartial inquiry. This issue will again be on the agenda of the tenth session of Ecosoc.

Trade Union Rights

In acting on another labor issue, Ecosoc took steps to aid in protecting labor in its rights to organize and bargain collectively. The ILO adopted international conventions on these rights in 1948 and 1949 which are now before governments for ratification. The Covenant on Human Rights may also cover these rights. Additional machinery, however, is needed to deal with alleged violations of trade-union rights. Therefore, the Council in a U.S.-U.K. resolution asked

the ILO to act on behalf of the United Nations as well as on its own behalf in carrying out the decision that the ILO Governing Body made at its last session to establish "a fact-finding and conciliation commission" to undertake international supervision of freedom of association. This proposal was adopted over the objection of the Soviet representative on the basis of their consistent opposition to the ILO. They proposed that the Council undertake this work itself with the aid of trade unions.

Slavery

Ecosoc at this session took the first step in an effort to end slavery, another social problem closely related to problems of human rights to be dealt with by the proposed covenant. The General Assembly had asked the Council to study this problem. The United Kingdom took the lead in the debate and described various forms of slavery which still exist in the world including *muitsai*, a form of child slavery in areas of the Far East. This debate led to a complaint by China on the "self-righteousness of the colonial powers." The U.S.S.R. also made a vigorous attack on these powers and asked that the study focus particularly on colonial areas. Some of the discussion revolved around whether peonage should be included in the study, an issue confused by differences in translation of the term.

The United States at first supported a French proposal for a preliminary study of the question by the Secretariat before a decision on next steps. This suggestion, however, was defeated in favor of a U.K. proposal for the establishment of a small temporary committee of experts. This group is to survey slavery and "other institutions or customs resembling slavery" and to suggest to the Council a plan of action to deal with the problem.

Statelessness

A particularly difficult social problem requiring some immediate action was the continuing provision of international legal and political protection to stateless persons. The urgency of this question grew out of the expectation at that time that the International Refugee Organization would end its service during the summer of 1950. The report of this organization showed that in February 1949 more than 700,000 refugees were being assisted; nearly 500,000 were receiving care

and maintenance, for the most part in IRO centers; and over 200,000 were receiving services only.

Continuing Machinery for Legal Protection

When the International Refugee Organization terminates, many refugees will undoubtedly remain under the IRO mandate, but they will neither have the protection of their country of origin nor will they be absorbed into the community in which they are living. Furthermore, additional new refugees will be in the same situation. The General Council of the IRO, at its meeting in early July, therefore, concluded that no break must occur in legal and political protection. In their civil status protection of refugees is necessary if they are to obtain employment and lead a normal kind of life. Since 1947, the organization has been carrying on this function formerly performed first by the High Commissioner's Office for Refugees under the League of Nations and later by the Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees. The IRO Council did not conclude, however, that the organization should be continued to give this service. Instead, it asked Ecosoc to consider how this function could be continued within the framework of the United Nations.

Agreement on next steps was reached only after considerable preliminary discussion among the interested governments, especially France and Belgium, which urged an immediate Council decision to establish an Office of High Commissioner in the United Nations to provide protection and an international relief fund for the material assistance of refugees. The Council initiated action to provide continuing machinery within the United Nations to assure the functions of legal protection. The resolution, that France and Belgium introduced and that the United States and Australia amended, first requested governments to provide necessary legal protection to refugees who are in their territories and have come under the IRO mandate. Secondly, it requested the Secretary-General to prepare for the consideration of the General Assembly at its fourth session a plan of organization within the United Nations to provide international protection of refugees. Both alternatives of setting up a High Commissioner's Office under the control of the United Nations or a service within the Secretariat were to be considered. Thirdly, Ecosoc recommended that the General Assembly at its fourth session decide on the functions and organizational arrangements

for the protection of refugees in their civil status after the IRO ends its program and also make budgetary provision for the assumption of this function in 1950. This, therefore, is one of the important social measures to be acted on by the General Assembly at its present meeting.

Convention on Status of Refugees

The Council had on its agenda a two-volume Secretariat report on measures to improve the status of stateless persons and to eliminate statelessness. This report, prepared in response to a request made by the Council at its sixth session, recommended the drafting of a general convention on nationality based on agreements now in force and in conformity with the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Acting on this recommendation, the Council set up an *ad hoc* committee of representatives of 13 governments to draft a revised and consolidated convention on the international status of refugees and stateless persons if it agrees on the desirability of such a step. The Committee is also to make recommendations on the means of eliminating the problem of statelessness.

Programs for Children

As in the case of problems related to the work of the IRO, action on the report of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund was made more difficult by the uncertain future of the organization. The Fund was set up on a temporary basis as a special body to deal with an urgent postwar problem—child feeding and child health. The Fund, in its second year of operation, reported to the Council that it was providing a daily supplement of protective food to six million children and mothers and clothes to millions. It was also vaccinating tens of millions of children against tuberculosis and providing other types of medical supplies with the technical assistance of WHO. The Fund now aids children in Europe, Asia, North Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America.

With the emergency period passed, the Fund, financed by voluntary contributions from governments, organizations, and individuals, faces the possible exhaustion of its resources. The Council, consequently, concurred in plans made by the Executive Board of UNICEF at its June meeting in Paris for a study to be made in cooperation with the Secretariat of the United Nations and of in-

terested specialized agencies of how the continuing needs of children can best be met within the framework of the United Nations.

The Council had before it recommendations from the Executive Board of both UNICEF and the World Health Organization concerning acceptance of an offer by the French Government of a children's center in Paris for training, demonstration, and research purposes. Opinions differed on whether the center was to be an international institution administered by the French Government and UNICEF or a national center assisted by UNICEF and WHO. The United States believed it advisable to clear up the confusion on this point. The Council adopted a compromise resolution which asked UNICEF to make adjustments in the arrangements for the establishment and administration of the center as a national institution, in the light of the WHO recommendations.

In its resolution, Ecosoc also called the attention of the General Assembly particularly to the fact that additional contributions are required to enable the Fund to carry on its program through June 1950. The plans of UNICEF for the immediate months ahead are dependent on further contributions from other governments that will make it possible to draw the remaining amounts appropriated or authorized by the United States on a matching basis of \$72 for every \$28 contributed by other governments. The United States legislation authorizing 100 million dollars for UNICEF on this basis has been extended until June 30, 1950.

OTHER SOCIAL ACTION

Declaration of Death of Missing Persons

Relatives and associates of large numbers of persons who disappeared during the war and years of occupation have experienced serious legal difficulties because of the absence of proof of death in these cases. The Council had before it a draft convention on the declaration of death of missing persons prepared by a special committee of experts set up by Ecosoc at its preceding session. The Council recommended "that the General Assembly consider the draft convention during its fourth session with a view to having the Convention adopted and opened for signature during that session." The proposed convention would establish

courts empowered to adjudicate the death of a missing person and issue a declaration with the legal effect of a death certificate.

Aboriginal Populations of the Americas

The General Assembly has asked the Council to study, in cooperation with the specialized agencies and the Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, the social conditions of the aboriginal populations of the American Continent, upon the request of the American state involved. The Council, however, asked the Secretary-General to submit a report at its eleventh session on the progress being made in this field by all parties concerned and to report on the comments received from governments.

Training in Public Administration

Ecosoc approved the plans for an international program of training in public administration. Such a program will emphasize the exchange of experience through fellowships and seminars and to the full utilization of existing governmental and private facilities rather than the establishment of a school such as had been considered earlier. The Council asked the Secretary-General to report later on the coordination of this program with that of technical assistance.

DDT Insecticides

Another type of measure of significance in efforts to improve health conditions in underdeveloped countries was Council action to facilitate the production and distribution of supplies of DDT insecticides for controlling malaria. This action was taken at the request of WHO in connection with its program to combat this great health scourge that interferes seriously in many areas with productivity and economic and social development. The Council's resolution recommended that governments ease tariffs and other import and export restrictions on DDT and its ingredients and equipment for production and that they encourage the local production of basic forms of insecticides.

IMPROVING SOCIAL ACTION

World Social Report

A current question of interest is whether the publication of an annual report on the world social

and cultural situation would facilitate and improve the United Nations work in connection with international social problems. Ecosoc might use such a report as the basis for its consideration of social subjects as it now uses the report on world economic trends in its debate on economic matters. The General Assembly at its last session, as a result of growing emphasis on the social aspects of the world's problems, asked Ecosoc to consider the possibility of preparing a report on world trends in the social and cultural fields. The Council referred this question for exploration to the Social Commission which is to get the views of the various specialized agencies and interested non-governmental organizations before making its recommendations.

Implementation of Recommendations

A disappointing aspect of the ninth session of the Council was the failure to move ahead vigorously with efforts to assure implementation of its many recommendations. A resolution of the General Assembly adopted in 1947 asked Ecosoc to report each year on steps taken by members of the United Nations to carry out recommendations on economic and social matters.

Less than half of the United Nations members—only 28 governments—had replied to a Secretariat questionnaire on this subject sent to governments 14 months before. Among the governments that had not answered were six members of Ecosoc. Little interest in effective action to correct this situation was apparent.

The United States asked for study of the question at this session, but many governments were not ready for this step. A proposal made by Australia to set up a committee of nine members to study the question before the next Ecosoc session was approved. The manner in which this committee carries out its assignment may have great significance for the future of the United Nations. Now that the United Nations is 4 years old and is beyond the early stages of determining objectives, the actual implementation of recommendations is of growing importance.

RELATIONS WITH SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

The Council approved the report of its Coordination Committee, which expressed satisfaction with the progress made in the coordination of the activities of the United Nations and the specialized agencies and the increased use of the Admin-

istrative Committee on Coordination for this purpose. The Committee examined in detail the coordination achieved with respect to a number of special problems, including housing, fellowships, statistics, migration, and manpower. The Council approved a number of the Committee's specific recommendations, such as endorsing the view of the Secretary-General that substantial advantages exist for having recommended that specialized agencies consult with Ecosoc prior to establishing the headquarters of some of the specialized agencies located at the Seat of the United Nations.

As part of carrying out its responsibilities for coordination, the Council reviewed the reports of eight specialized intergovernmental agencies. The reports of the agencies which may be considered primarily social in character—the ILO, WHO, UNESCO, and IRO—were satisfactory to the United States. The reports of both the ILO and the IRO provoked a controversial debate with the Eastern European nations. The Soviet representative charged the ILO with following an employer's approach toward unemployment and with slowness and weakness in its attack on this and other problems. He accused the IRO of failure to carry out repatriation and introduced a resolution asking countries in which displaced persons are found to furnish lists of their names and addresses. The resolution was defeated, and the IRO report as well as the report of ILO were noted with appreciation.

A much more detailed examination was made of the reports of specialized agencies on their proposals for an expanded program for technical assistance.

INTERGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION RELATIONS

The Council on the basis of a review by the Coordination Committee also acted on recommendations related to the status and relations of a large number of small intergovernmental organizations in existence prior to the establishment of the United Nations. The Council recommended to members the dissolution of two organizations and the integration of 5 others with the United Nations itself or one of the specialized agencies. It also approved the relationships already established by 9 other organizations with some specialized agency of the United Nations and postponed action on 16 others pending further study. In the case of 12 inter-American organizations, the Coun-

cil requested the Secretary-General to discuss their future status with the Director-General of the Organization of American States.

Most controversial was the question of the future status of the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission. The United States had proposed that this organization be terminated and its assets transferred to the United Nations. This recommendation was based on the belief that intergovernmental activities for the prevention of crime and treatment of offenders should be primarily carried on in the United Nations in close relation with other aspects of the social program. At a meeting held in Bern in August during the Ecosoc session the IPRC found the United States plan unacceptable and recommended the Commission retain its separate identity and collaborate with U.N. Ecosoc, however, accepted the United States viewpoint and asked the Secretariat to work out with IPRC a plan for its "eventual integration" within the United Nations.

CONCLUSION

Many of the outstanding social issues acted on by Ecosoc at this session, such as measures for refugees and stateless persons, Advisory Social Welfare Services, and the draft conventions on the traffic in persons and declaration of death of missing persons are now before the General Assembly for action at its fourth session. Consequently, final decisions on these measures await the outcome of General Assembly consideration.

Action taken by the ninth session of Ecosoc on social matters involved complicated interrelationships of the various organs of the United Nations system. It represented progress in the achievement of concerted action to deal with specific social problems.

The interdependence of economic and social measures in improving living conditions was demonstrated in the plans adopted for an expanded program of technical assistance to underdeveloped countries. The necessity for certain types of social projects to accompany economic development was recognized. The clarification of the contribution of social projects to such a program should provide a basis for a more effective joint attack in the future on both the economic and social aspects of promoting the common welfare.

THE ANNECY CONFERENCE ON TARIFFS AND TRADE

by Woodbury Willoughby

The conference which was recently concluded at Annecy, France, consisted of two distinct meetings, one, the third session of the Contracting Parties¹ to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and the other, a series of tariff negotiations between the 23 contracting parties and 11 governments which proposed to accede to the General Agreement. Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Burma, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, India, Lebanon, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Southern Rhodesia, Syria, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, and the United States are the 23 original contracting parties to the General Agreement. The 11 other countries represented at Annecy were Colombia, Denmark, the Dominican Republic, Finland, Greece, Haiti, Italy, Liberia, Nicaragua, Sweden, and Uruguay.

I. THE THIRD SESSION OF THE CONTRACTING PARTIES

Article XXV of the General Agreement provides that "representatives of the Contracting Parties shall meet from time to time for the purpose of giving effect to those provisions of this Agreement which involve joint action and, generally, with a view to facilitating the operation and furthering the objectives of this Agreement".

The first session was held at Habana early in 1948, at the close of the conference which completed the draft charter for an International Trade Organization (Iro), and the second met

at Geneva from August to September, 1948. The third session, which met at Annecy from April 8 to August 13, 1948, was the longest and most difficult of the three.

The United States delegation to the Annecy meetings was under the chairmanship of Woodbury Willoughby, Chief of the Division of Commercial Policy and Chairman of the Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Agreements, and the delegates consisted of the members of the Committee on Trade Agreements.

The decision to hold the meetings at Annecy resulted from the fact that office and residence accommodations could not be obtained at Geneva, the seat of the Secretariat of the Interim Commission for the International Trade Organization (Icrtro), which provides the Contracting Parties with Secretariat services. Annecy, a small resort town in the French Alps about 25 miles south of Geneva, had not previously been the site of an international conference.

Following is a summary of the more important matters considered by the Contracting Parties.

Consultation on South African Import Restrictions

Article XII of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade provides for consultations between the Contracting Parties and a contracting party imposing or intensifying import restrictions, with a view to providing an opportunity for a full and frank exchange of views regarding the nature of that contracting party's balance-of-payments difficulties, alternative corrective measures which may be available, and the possible effect of the measures on the economies of other contracting parties. The Union of South Africa, which

¹ The expression "Contracting Parties" is written with capitals "C" and "P" when used in the collective sense of the contracting parties acting jointly.

had imposed new restrictions in November 1948 and proposed to intensify them in the summer of 1949, was the first contracting party to which these provisions had applied. The consultation was initially handled in a working party, which drafted a report subsequently approved by the Contracting Parties. The provisions of article XII 4 (a) and (b), which were applicable in this particular case, do not require any formal approval or disapproval of the import control measures concerned, but merely contemplate an exchange of views. This procedure proved to be of great value to all parties concerned, and at the conclusion of the consultation, the South African delegation undertook to transmit the views expressed in the course of the discussions to its government for consideration.

Inter-session Consultation Procedure

The South African case called attention to a difficulty inherent in the temporary machinery of the General Agreement. The GATT provides that its consultation procedures will be replaced by the machinery for consultation provided in the ITO charter, under which a permanent organization will handle such matters. No procedure, therefore, was provided for handling urgent cases of consultation unless the Contracting Parties happened to be in session at the time a case arose requiring consultation.

To meet this difficulty the Contracting Parties decided it would be useful to provide for the appointment of committees representative of the Contracting Parties which would be convoked to begin necessary study and consideration in urgent consultation cases arising between regular sessions.

Renegotiations of the Geneva Schedules

Requests for modification or withdrawal of concessions included in the Geneva schedules to the GATT were introduced at the second session by Brazil, Ceylon, Cuba, and Pakistan. The Contracting Parties agreed that these renegotiations should proceed with those countries with which the concessions had been initially negotiated. The results of these Brazilian, Ceylonese, and Pakistani renegotiations were approved by the Contracting Parties at the third session and embodied in protocols modifying or replacing the original schedules. The renegotiation with Cuba has not been completed.

Economic Development Measures

The General Agreement permits contracting parties under certain conditions to maintain non-discriminatory protective measures, having in mind particularly quantitative import restrictions, imposed for purposes of development or reconstruction. The Contracting Parties, under specified circumstances and conditions, may authorize new measures for the same purpose. The examination of these measures, including certain new measures proposed by Ceylon, in accordance with the provisions of article XVIII of GATT, was one of the most arduous tasks of the third session. It occupied a working party's time for more than 60 meetings. In addition to Ceylon, the Contracting Parties notified measures and took decisions with respect to Netherlands (for Indonesia), Chile, United Kingdom (for Mauritius and Northern Rhodesia), Cuba, India, Lebanon, and Syria.

In order to avoid the necessity for lengthy consideration of these matters at subsequent sessions, the Contracting Parties was agreed to establish a committee under whose auspices preparatory work on article XVIII applications can begin between sessions.

South African-Southern Rhodesian Customs Union

Article XXIV of the General Agreement lays down certain rules to which agreements for the formation of customs unions must conform, with a view to insuring that they will result in a genuine customs union within a reasonable period of time and will not merely result in an extension of preferential tariff regimes. The Contracting Parties were accordingly required to examine a new agreement between the Union of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia under which the two countries propose to restore a union previously existing between them. On the basis of this examination and of certain undertakings given by the two governments, the Contracting Parties adopted a declaration that the two governments were entitled to claim the benefits of article XXIV. In the declaration, the Contracting Parties requested the two governments to instruct their Customs Union Council to include in each annual report a definite plan and schedule of the steps to be taken during the ensuing 12 months toward the reestablishment of the customs union.

Special Exchange Agreements

The General Agreement provides that any contracting party which is not a member of the International Monetary Fund or which ceases to be a member of the Fund, shall enter into a special exchange agreement with the Contracting Parties. After lengthy consideration by a Committee which had been set up at the second session, a draft special exchange agreement following closely similar provisions of the International Monetary Fund articles of Agreement was completed and approved by the Contracting Parties.

Indian Excise Duties on Products Exported to Pakistan

The third session settled a question which had arisen between India and Pakistan regarding the obligations of India under the General Agreement with respect to the rebate of excise taxes on goods exported to Pakistan. At the second session these two countries had been invited to consult with a view to reaching an amicable settlement on the basis of a ruling by the chairman on the legal issues involved.

Most-Favored-Nation Treatment for Occupied Areas

A United States proposal that the Contracting Parties agree, on a reciprocal basis, to the granting of most-favored-nation treatment for Japanese trade, was withdrawn from the agenda prior to its consideration. In a statement issued to the press at the time of the withdrawal, the delegation outlined the reasons for the proposal and expressed the hope that the Contracting Parties would give careful attention to its desirability.

Cuban Textile Industry

A working party examined a Cuban request for release from certain obligations in the General Agreement for the purpose of taking measures to resolve a reported crisis in the Cuban textile industry. The measures would involve renegotiation with the United States since Cuba granted the United States a number of tariff concessions on textiles in the 1947 Geneva negotiations. No conclusion was reached at Annecy, and it was recommended that bilateral discussions between the United States and Cuba with respect to the matter continue.

Czechoslovak Complaint Against the United States

A Czechoslovak complaint that the United States had failed in its administration of the issuance of export licenses to carry out its obligations under the General Agreement was rejected by the Contracting Parties by a vote of 17 to 1, with only Czechoslovakia voting for the complaint.

Brazilian Internal Taxes

A working party examined in detail a complaint by France that Brazil had imposed discriminatory internal taxes on certain products. On the basis of certain assurances given by the Brazilian delegation, the Contracting Parties agreed to review the matter at the next session in the light of action taken by Brazil at that date.

Territorial Application of the General Agreement

Two decisions were taken on questions affecting the territorial application of the General Agreement. Because of the changed international status of Palestine, the Contracting Parties agreed that the United Kingdom should no longer be regarded as a contracting party with respect to Palestine. Because of the union of Newfoundland with Canada in April 1949, it was necessary to adopt a declaration that the concessions granted by the United Kingdom on behalf of Newfoundland (Schedule B of article XIX of the General Agreement) were no longer part of the General Agreement. With respect to the latter decision, the United States reserved the right to take up any questions with the governments concerned when sufficient time had elapsed to ascertain the effects of the change.

Cuban Preference Issue

At an early stage in the Annecy meetings, the Cuban delegation raised a fundamental question regarding the legal status of the preferences that Cuba enjoyed in the United States market under the agreement reached at Geneva in 1947. The Cuban delegation contended that none of the preferences they enjoyed could be reduced or eliminated without previous negotiation and mutual agreement between Cuba and the United States. If this contention had been upheld, the United States would not have been able to grant any of

the acceding governments at Annecy concessions which reduced the margins of preference enjoyed by Cuba without obtaining the consent of Cuba. The United States delegation took the position that such prior consent was not required. It felt that the whole purpose of the General Agreement is to reduce trade barriers and discriminations, including preferences.

Although every effort was made to reconcile the two points of view, it finally became clear that a decision of the legal issue would have to be made since, if it were not, the United States would not be able to conclude several of its Annecy negotiations. The Contracting Parties accordingly adopted a decision on August 10, by a vote of 14 to 1, upholding the United States position. Following the decision, the Cuban delegation withdrew from the third session. The United States delegation expressed regret at the withdrawal and assured the contracting parties that the United States was willing and desirous of conducting bilateral discussions with Cuba with a view to reaching agreement on their mutual problems. The Contracting Parties accordingly invited both countries to enter into bilateral discussions with a view to reaching a satisfactory solution.

Budget for 1950

A budget of \$302,000 was approved for 1950. It is to be apportioned among the contracting parties on the basis of their respective volumes of foreign trade in 1938 and 1946. On this basis, the United States share is \$53,000, the same as that of the United Kingdom.

Other Business

The Contracting Parties considered, among other matters, a Chilean complaint regarding Australian import subsidies on fertilizers, a problem on which bilateral discussions are to continue between sessions; the program of work of the Icrro Secretariat, which serves the Contracting Parties in absence of an organization of their own (the Secretariat was authorized to proceed with a report for the Contracting Parties on discriminatory measures being taken by contracting parties, which report is required to be made by March 1, 1950 under article XIV 1 (g) of the General Agreement); changes in the rules of procedure to permit calling of special sessions of the Contracting Parties; rectifications in the Geneva tariff schedules;

and a large number of complicated legal problems relating to the status of the several protocols adopted at previous meetings amending the provisions of the General Agreement.

The Contracting Parties set up a working party to study the possibilities for a third set of tariff negotiations. This working party met at Annecy and later reconvened at London to complete its report which sets forth the rules of procedure for the third set of negotiations and a list of countries, which, it recommends, should be invited. This report has been circulated to all the governments represented at Annecy.

The Contracting Parties also decided to hold their next session at Geneva commencing on February 23, 1950.

II. THE TARIFF NEGOTIATIONS

The tariff negotiations between the contracting parties and the governments desiring to accede (Italy, Colombia, Uruguay, Haiti, Dominican Republic, Sweden, Finland, Greece, Liberia, Denmark, and Nicaragua) were conducted at Annecy on the multilateral plan which had been used so successfully at Geneva in 1947. After the invitations had been accepted by 11 governments, preparations were made and requests for concessions were exchanged well in advance of the Annecy meeting. The negotiations opened at Annecy with the exchange of offers commencing in April. Although the United States negotiated with each one of the 11 governments, not every country negotiated with every other since in many cases the trade involved was not sufficient to provide scope for the exchange of advantageous concessions. Altogether, 147 bilateral negotiations were successfully concluded at Annecy. The operation resulted in additions to 18 of the 20 Geneva schedules and in 10 new schedules for the acceding governments. Colombia, one of the 11 countries which accepted the invitation to negotiate, although participating in negotiating, was unable to reach agreement with several countries, including the United States. Colombia withdrew its application to accede to GATT at this time.

While the negotiations were in progress, the Contracting Parties, in consultation with the acceding governments, drew up a protocol containing the terms on which the acceding governments would be enabled to adhere to the Agreement.

This protocol¹ (The Annecy Protocol of Terms of Accession to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) requires a separate decision of the contracting parties for each acceding government. It was opened for signature at Lake Success on October 10. It will remain open for signature by the contracting parties until November 30 and by the acceding governments until April 30, 1950. Upon receiving the support of two-thirds of the contracting parties and upon signing the protocol, an acceding government will become a contracting party.

Details of the tariff concessions exchanged by the United States and the acceding governments, together with trade statistics and related data, are included in an analysis prepared by the inter-departmental trade-agreements organization and published by the Department of State.²

III. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ANNECY CONFERENCE

Apart from the obvious importance of extending the scope of the General Agreement by the addition of 10 new contracting parties to the 23 original signatories—and the consequent reduction of trade barriers—the Annecy conference demonstrated again the practical value of the General Agreement as body of rules for the fair conduct of international trade. The Geneva tariff negotiations, together with the negotiations completed at Annecy, prove how strikingly successful a multilateral approach to the reduction of trade barriers can be. The deliberations and actions of the contracting parties have shown that a procedure is being established for safeguarding and consolidating these reductions in barriers. Their meetings have served and will continue to serve as a forum for the discussion and resolution of disputes and issues in world trade relations hitherto sources of considerable international friction.

The third session was required to deal with several such disputes, and the Contracting Parties were able to settle most of them. They have requested the United States and Cuba to seek bilateral solution of certain outstanding problems.

¹ Printed as Department of State publication 3664.

² See Department of State publication 3651.

The third session also undertook the first application of the consultation provisions of article XII of the General Agreement. The case of the Union of South Africa showed that such consultation can be useful in promoting international understanding of the difficult trade and payments problems confronting some of the contracting parties. It also demonstrated that consultation ensures that any required temporary deviations from the sound rules laid down in the General Agreement are fully justified on economic grounds and are in conformity with all the obligations of the Agreement.

Finally, the deliberations and decisions of the third session regarding import control measures proposed for economic development or for protection of domestic industries against injury were of great importance. By careful study and analysis, the Contracting Parties were able to prevent the use of such measures for purposes not contemplated in the General Agreement and the impairment of the tariff concessions exchanged at Geneva and Annecy.

In spite of the usefulness of the Agreement and the sessions of the contracting parties, it would be unwise to consider that GATT is enough. It is serving its main purpose of establishing equality of treatment and of bringing about reductions of trade barriers. In addition it has brought the principal trading countries of the world together for consultation on urgent issues. It operates, though, under two great handicaps—the Contracting Parties lack the assistance of an organization to carry out the necessary research and preparatory work for their periodic sessions. This lack not only impairs the effectiveness and scope of what can be done but also imposes very heavy burdens on the representatives of the contracting parties at sessions. It also accounts for the length of sessions which is a source of concern to many governments. Secondly, since the Agreement is in force only provisionally, it can operate subject only according to existing legislation. The experience of the Contracting Parties, considered along with the extremely complex trade problems with which the world is faced, emphasizes more than ever the need for an International Trade Organization.

THE UNITED NATIONS AND SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

Discussion of the Greek Situation

*Statement by Benjamin V. Cohen
U. S. Alternate Representative to the General Assembly¹*

The Committee has been concerned for days now with a problem affecting eight lives in the discussion of the Greek question. Human lives are always precious. The real problem, however, has been that of external assistance to the Greek guerrillas in warfare which, for the last several years, has cost the lives of more than 50,000 Greek citizens.

The Political Committee has now had a report from the Conciliation Committee which was established by unanimous vote on September 29. The Conciliation Committee, as is evident, has labored long and arduously at its difficult task. It had been the hope of the United States delegation that after such work, the Conciliation Committee might be able to report with some promise of success, that it had achieved some sort of *modus vivendi*, which could lay the groundwork for the ultimate settlement of many problems along the northern frontiers of Greece, might be achieved.

The formula on which the Conciliation Committee had been working, based upon the previous work of the Committee under the chairmanship of Dr. H. V. Evatt, seemed to the United States delegation to have provided a simple and satisfactory starting point which could lead to peaceful settlement if there was the will to achieve it. While it did not look toward basic settlement of fundamental issues, it did supply the framework for such settlement. It provided for (1) the establishment of diplomatic relations, (2) the renewal, revision, or preparation of frontier con-

ventions for the settlement of frontier incidents of the type which had brought about the disturbed situation along the northern frontiers of Greece, and (3) the establishment of mixed frontier conventions for the regulation of such incidents if and when they did occur.

The Conciliation Committee also suggested a most important formula which would have obligated signatories, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity of a state, or for the purpose of changing existing frontiers. Good faith in acceptance of this formula would remove fears regarding the use of force to alter existing boundaries in the Balkans.

Cominform Countries Ignore Conciliation

Unfortunately, however, and despite the fact that the Greek delegation accepted the suggestions of the Conciliation Committee and that the Yugoslav delegation was also favorably disposed toward them, neither the Albanian nor the Bulgarian delegation was willing to do so. It was a matter of disappointment for the United States delegation to this impartial Conciliation Committee, despite its best efforts, that it was unable to develop a basis of conciliation on which an agreement could be reached.

It is interesting, however, to review briefly the positions taken by the states concerned in regard to the Conciliation Committee's suggestions. It is to be noted that the conciliators asked the representatives of Albania and Bulgaria whether their governments would agree that the United Nations verify the disarmament of the Greek guerrillas in their respective territories. There

¹ Made before Committee I of the Fourth General Assembly on Oct. 27, 1949, and released to the press by the U.S. delegation to the General Assembly on the same date.

was no Bulgarian reply on this point. The Albanian representative rejected the proposal, stating that such verification would be "useless," because, he said, the guerrillas had been disarmed and interned. The Albanian and Bulgarian regimes have on several previous occasions announced the disarmament and internment of Greek guerrillas who had entered their territories, and each such announcement has been followed by renewed guerrilla incursions from these countries into Greece. Surely, if the recent Albanian and Bulgarian announcements in this regard are meant seriously, the governments of these countries would have everything to gain and nothing to lose by inviting United Nations confirmation of their alleged good conduct.

The Albanian representative also told the conciliators that the Albanian Government was not concerned with the implementation of the Third General Assembly's unanimous resolution calling for the repatriation under specified conditions of the Greek children removed from Greece. The Albanian representative said that there were no longer any Greek children in Albania. He did not say what has become of the 3,000 or more Greek children which that government had previously asserted that it harbored in Albania.

Albania also declined to accept the idea of a neutral chairman or referee for the proposed mixed frontier commissions, but offered no suggestion as to how differences between the members of the two-party commissions would be resolved in the absence of such neutral intermediaries. The Greek representative, on the other hand, accepted the Conciliation Committee's suggestion of a United Nations referee to assist the Commission resolve its differences.

The Greek representative also accepted the conciliator's proposal that Greece, on the one hand, and her northern neighbors, on the other, agree to refrain from the threat or use of force against each other's territorial integrity in particular to agree to refrain from force or threat of force for the purpose of changing the existing boundaries between them. Albania refused to accept such a pledge unless existing boundaries should be accepted as final and was supported in this position by the Soviet Union. Nor was it made clear by the Soviet Union to what extent its conditional approval of the Conciliation Committee's proposals were further conditioned on agreement on a general pacification of internal conditions in Greece. Bulgaria also clothed its rejection with an acceptance in principle conditioned on a general agreement among the Balkan countries and a general pacification in Greece being arrived at.

During my remarks on September 28, I said: "It cannot advance the cause of conciliation and peaceful settlement to introduce at this time extraneous territorial issues."

The historical territorial issue between Greece and Albania is only one of several territorial issues throughout the world and notably in the Balkans, among them claims to the entire provinces of Greek Thrace and Greek Macedonia. The prospects for the future would be dim indeed if the maintenance of diplomatic relations and adherence to minimum standards of international conduct were made dependent on the immediate settlement of all territorial issues and the recognition of all frontiers as eternally final. The Charter does, however, clearly outlaw any effort to change existing frontiers by force or threat of force, and the Greek Government has offered to agree in specific terms that it will not use force or the threat of force to alter existing frontiers. That should be sufficient. The way to quiet and ultimately resolve the conflicting century-old historic claims in the Balkans is not through efforts to make it appear that existing frontiers are not stable unless they are accepted as eternally final.

We should not ignore the fact that Yugoslavia, which in the years past was perhaps the most active in aiding the Greek guerrillas, has given indications of a considerable change in her policy and action. Only the Cominform countries retained a negative attitude towards the suggestions of the Conciliation Committee. We further take note of the fact that the Conciliation Committee is prepared to resume its efforts at any time during the present session whenever the parties concerned consider this to be desirable. We welcome and approve this offer of the Conciliation Committee to resume its efforts should the parties wish to avail themselves of their good offices.

Since, however, the conciliation efforts have been unsuccessful so far, I turn to the general problem which confronts this committee.

Greek Situation Historic Problem in U.N.

This Committee is fully acquainted with the problem of Greece, for it is now before it for the third time. Initially, the General Assembly, in September 1947, took up the Greek question because of the inability of the Security Council, for reasons which are well-known to all, to reach any decision on the case. Since that time, the General Assembly has come to know the question well.²

On October 21, 1947, the General Assembly, by a vote of 40 to 6, established the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans, for purposes both of observation and of conciliation. The mandate of the Assembly was renewed in 1948 by a vote of 47 to 6. At that time special stress was laid on the conciliatory functions of the Special Committee and upon the use of good offices with a view to finding some settlement of the problems at hand. However, as members of the General Assembly know, the Special Committee

² BULLETIN of Sept. 19, 1946, p. 407.

could not make effective use of its conciliatory role, because of the refusal of the northern neighbors to recognize the Special Committee as a duly constituted body of the United Nations or to cooperate with it in any way. It now appears that the difficulties in the matter of conciliation, however, are not confined to the Special Committee on the Balkans.

The United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans has been in the Balkan area for almost 2 years. Its reports require no detailed analysis, for it is brief and to the point and, no doubt, has been studied by all members of the Political Committee. The Special Committee had the benefit of direct observation undertaken by six observation groups stationed at various points in Greece. Neither the Special Committee nor its observation groups were permitted to enter the territories of Albania, Bulgaria, or Yugoslavia. The reports are based on the observations and the experience of the members of the Special Committee themselves as well as upon the work of the observation groups and upon the evidence obtained from the interrogation of more than 1,500 witnesses during the past year.

I think we owe a great deal to the Special Committee and the observation groups for the devotion and ability they have given to their duties, often arduous, often hazardous, and seldom publicly acclaimed or appreciated. A few of the observers have been killed and wounded in the service of the world community. Their casualties have not been given even the attention which we have given to other individual casualties in the Greek conflict.

In its report, the Special Committee noted that "Albania is the principal source of material assistance" to the Greek guerrillas and declared that Albanian support had been "vital to the continuance of the Greek guerrilla movement since all the main guerrilla concentrations are found on the Albanian frontier." Moreover, the Special Committee declared that Bulgaria had continued to assist the Greek guerrillas, moral assistance to whom was openly proclaimed by the Bulgarian Government itself.

The Special Committee also reported, it is interesting to observe, that Yugoslav assistance to the Greek guerrilla movement had recently ceased, but it stressed the very important assistance of Rumania to the Greek guerrillas, including the fact that the so-called "Free Greece" radio, had been moved from the neighborhood of Belgrade to the vicinity of Bucharest. It stated that this assistance—together with that of certain other states in Eastern Europe—pointed toward "the existence of a highly coordinated system of support" to the Greek guerrilla movement. But the report also noted that, on a number of occasions, the Greek guerrillas openly acknowledged their

foreign support, as stated by the Greek Communist Party itself, in the report of the Fifth Plenum of the Greek Communist Party on January 30-31, 1949, when it proclaimed that "in the Popular Democracies we found great and wholehearted support without which we could not have made progress."

Greek Children in Bondage

The report of the Special Committee also called attention to the fact that practically none of the approximately 25,000 Greek children who had been removed from Greece to the territories of her northern neighbors and elsewhere in Europe during 1948 had been returned to Greece in accordance with the unanimous resolution of the General Assembly, approved on November 27, 1948. In fact, thousands of Greek children, contrary to the spirit of that resolution, have been transferred from one Soviet satellite to another, an action which has been openly proclaimed in those states. Moreover, "in violation of fundamental humanitarian principles, some of these children, of adolescent age, have been sent back to Greece to fight in the ranks of the guerrillas," and some of these children were actually interviewed by observers of the Special Committee on Greek soil.

After 2 years in Greece, carefully studying the Greek problem, the Special Committee reaffirmed the conclusions at which it had arrived during the course of 1948, and particularly its conclusion that "the continuation of the present situation constitutes a threat to the political independence and territorial integrity of Greece and peace in the Balkans." It specifically recommended "that the General Assembly continue to provide for appropriate United Nations machinery with adequate powers of conciliation and observation to further a settlement between Greece and her northern neighbors and restore peaceful conditions along the northern frontiers of Greece, and to keep the United Nations informed of the situation."

The military situation in Greece is now much better than it was 2 years ago when this Assembly first took action and established the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans. Indeed, the Special Committee, in its supplementary report of September 19, 1949, noted that "the Greek Armed Forces have eliminated organized guerrilla resistance along the northern borders of Greece and have resumed effective control of those areas." Moreover, it is to be hoped that Greece may now have an opportunity to bind up its grievous wounds and to travel the road of peaceful reconstruction—a road which has been barred since the liberation of Greece in 1945.

Members of this Committee are, no doubt, aware of the statement of October 16, broadcast by the so-called "Free Greece" radio (Bucharest), in which the Greek guerrillas recognized their defeat and announced that the fighting in Greece had ceased. But it is important to read the propa-

ganda announcement with some care, for the guerrillas have stated very specifically, in their well-timed declaration:

"But they deceive themselves in a deadly way when they imagine that the Democratic Army exists no more. The Democratic Army has not put down its weapons, but merely stands at 'ground arms'. . . . The Democratic Army has not bent, and has not been crushed. It remains strong and with forces whole . . . This does not mean that we concluded peace. . . . We shall remain vigilant."

It is perhaps not without some significance, too, that the statement once more proclaims the association of the Greek guerrilla movement with the U.S.S.R. and the so-called "People's Democracies"—or in other words, the countries dominated by the Cominform. In view of that statement, and of the public admissions on the part of Albania and Bulgaria that large numbers of Greek guerrillas fled into those countries—as they have done repeatedly during the past 2 years—it is surely appropriate to inquire today precisely where those guerrillas are and whether, as the Governments of Albania and Bulgaria have asserted, they have, in fact, been disarmed and interned, in accordance with the principles governing the normal relations between states. According to my information there are at least 8,500 Greek guerrillas in Albania, and about 3,000 in Bulgaria. The United States delegation, at least, has no information as to the disarming or internment of these guerrillas. I might remind this Committee, however, that the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans, in its supplementary report of September 16, took note of the fact—

"that a large proportion of the Greek guerrillas together with large numbers of other Greek nationals have sought refuge in or been forcibly taken into the territories of the northern neighbors of Greece, in particular Albania."

It is also noted that public announcement has been made that they had been disarmed and interned. Nevertheless, it was not without interest that both Albania and Bulgaria, during the course of the discussions within the Conciliation Committee, rejected any thought of verification of their assertions as to such disarming and internment by any agency of the United Nations.

In the view of the United States delegation, it is merely a matter of elementary prudence that the United Nations remain vigilant concerning the situation along the northern frontiers of Greece, while attempting, as it has done in the past, to bring about a peaceful settlement between Greece and its northern neighbors. In the light of existing circumstances the General Assembly cannot

now take the hasty view that it is finished with the Greek problem.

U.S. Party to Joint Resolutions

The United States delegation believes that the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans must be continued. It is our purpose within the next few days to submit jointly with some other delegations a resolution covering the principal recommendations of the Special Committee. I reserve my right to speak again in order to explain our concrete proposals.

Mr. Chairman, the United States delegation, together with the delegations of Australia, China, and the United Kingdom, is presenting two resolutions, based upon the broad experience and the specific recommendations of the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans, which, we hope, will contribute to a solution of the Greek problem. One deals specifically with the fate of the Greek children taken from Greece. The main resolution is similar in character to previous resolutions which have been adopted by this Committee and by the General Assembly in 1947 and 1948, for it calls for the continuation of the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans, with all the terms of reference contained in the resolutions of 1947 and 1948, and also gives to that body some other functions should the situation in Greece continue to improve.

It will be noted that the resolution recites the assistance which Albania and Bulgaria, especially, have given to the Greek guerrillas and calls upon all states concerned to cease forthwith rendering any assistance or support to the guerrillas fighting against Greece. The resolution also recommends that all members of the United Nations and other states refrain from any action designed directly or indirectly to assist any armed group fighting against Greece. The resolution calls upon Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia to cooperate with Greece in the settlement of their differences by peaceful means and specifically recommends the reestablishment of diplomatic and good neighborly relations, the preparation, renewal, or revision of frontier conventions for the settlement of frontier incidents. The Special Committee is instructed to be available to assist the governments concerned in the implementation of the recommendations of the General Assembly and to offer its good offices in the interest of pacific settlement. It will also be noted that the new resolution calls for verification that Greek guerrillas who have entered the territories of other states have been disarmed, since it is fully recognized that Greece faces the possible danger of further guerrilla incursions, especially from Albania and Bulgaria.

But I would also call your attention to the two final paragraphs of the draft resolution, for they bear upon the tasks of rehabilitation. The resolution calls upon all states harboring Greek na-

tionals, as a result of operations of the Greek guerrillas against Greece, to facilitate the peaceful repatriation to Greece of all such individuals who desire to return and live in accordance with the law of the land. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, through the Special Committee or other appropriate United Nations or international agencies is requested to extend any feasible assistance in making and executing arrangements for the repatriation to Greece or resettlement elsewhere of guerrillas who have been involved in the warfare.

It will be seen at a glance that we are proposing to continue the conciliatory functions of the Special Committee in the interest of bringing about some settlement in the Balkan region, while remaining vigilant along the northern frontiers of Greece lest there be a recurrence of trouble in that disturbed area. But it will also be noted that the resolution looks toward assistance to Greece along the road toward "human rehabilitation" which that country should be permitted to travel unmolested in the years to come.

The United States delegation believes that by such action, by the continuation of the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans, with its broad terms of reference, the United Nations can contribute further to the cause of peace in a troubled area. Much has been accomplished during the past 2 years. Much remains to be done. It may well be hoped that during the course of the coming year, the work of the United Nations with respect to the question of "threats to the territorial integrity and political independence of Greece," will be crowned with complete success.

I reserve my right to speak again if necessary.

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Care and Resettlement of World's Refugees

REPORT ON IRO MEETINGS

by George L. Warren

The General Council of the International Refugee Organization (IRO) held its fourth Session at Geneva from October 11-20, 1949. The Executive Committee met concurrently from October 6-20, 1949.

This session was a regular session of the General Council convened under the provisions of the constitution of IRO. At the third (special) session of the Council held at Geneva June-July 1949, the Council adopted a resolution providing for the termination of IRO services with certain important exceptions on June 30, 1950. Under the resolution, August 31, 1949 was set as the closing date for registration of eligible refugees presently in IRO areas of operation and October 15, 1949 as the closing date of registration for those who arrived in the areas after August 31, 1949. The chief concerns of the Council at the fourth session were to determine the volume of work remaining for the organization as disclosed by the registrations, to consider further the problem of making provision for the continuing care of the hard core of nonresettleable refugees, to plan such operations as might be required subsequent to June 30, 1950, and to advise the General Assembly of the United Nations further with respect to the organization of protection for refugees under the auspices of the United Nations after the termination of IRO.

The Executive Committee met primarily to consider the annual report of the Director-General for 1948-49, to review the plan of expenditures for 1948-49, and to consider a request for assistance to the United Nations Relief for Palestinian Refugees (UNRPR) from the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The annual report of the Director-General for 1948-49 presented in the form of a printed brochure with pictures for presentation of the work of the organization to the public was accepted. In reviewing the plan of expenditures for the fiscal year 1948-49, the Executive Committee, in response to the pleadings of the repre-

sentatives of the Western European members for more adequate provision for nonresettleable refugees who will remain in areas of present residence, recommended an allocation of 9 million dollars for the provision of continuing care for these refugees, bringing the total of such allocations for the fiscal year 1948-49 to 10 million dollars.

Acting under authority of a General Council resolution, the Executive Committee authorized the Director-General to make such stocks of blankets, tents, and medical supplies as may prove to be surplus to IRO requirements available as a gift to UNRPR. The Committee also authorized an interest-free loan to UNRPR in an amount not to exceed the equivalent of 2.8 million dollars in currencies other than United States dollars to be repaid by UNRPR out of future contributions and on justification by UNRPR of the emergency need for such a loan.

Sixteen of the eighteen members of the IRO were represented at the meeting: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Dominican Republic, France, Guatemala, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States, and Venezuela.

China and Iceland were not represented.

Representatives of the United Nations, the Government of Israel, the Vatican, International Refugee Organization, and World Health Organization, were also in attendance as official observers. Many representatives of voluntary agencies cooperating with IRO were present.

The General Council accepted the annual report of the Director-General for 1948-49 and the recommendation of the Executive Committee concerning the allocation of 9 million dollars in the current year's budget to the item of care and maintenance for provision for the continuing care of nonresettleable refugees. The Council learned with regret that because of the heavy registrations of refugees before the closing dates the Director-

General was unable to present the final totals of refugees remaining to be served by IRO. The Council was advised that the eligibility of recent registrants will not be finally determined before December 1, 1949 and that the counseling program adopted at the third (special) session, June-July 1949, would not be completed before March 31, 1950.

Under the counseling program, each remaining refugee is expected to make known his plans for repatriation, reestablishment on the spot or resettlement. Nonetheless it became evident from the discussions on the Director-General's report and on the statistical reports presented that there would remain after the present year's operations are concluded on June 30, 1950, at least 100,000 nonresettleable refugees for whom provision for continuing care will need to be made and between 100,000 and 125,000 refugees who will require resettlement overseas. The destinations of these latter have not yet been determined, but it is expected that a majority will be resettled in Australia.

The discussions clearly disclosed the necessity for the continuance of IRO operations after June 30, 1950, if the IRO task is to be completed. Consequently the General Council determined that IRO should persist for a period of 9 months after June 30, 1950, in its effort to make provision for the nonresettleable refugees and to complete the movement. For this purpose the Council adopted a total budget of \$55,165,446 for operations subsequent to June 30, 1950. Included in this budget is an item of 12 million dollars for the provision of care for nonresettleable refugees.

The Council having taken this action decided to advise the General Assembly of the United Nations which has on its agenda the problem of organizing protection for refugees after the termination of IRO that the initiation of the services of protection under the auspices of the United Nations should take place no later than January 1, 1951. The message to the General Assembly also contained a plea to all government members of the United Nations to assist IRO during the remaining period of its existence to find places of resettlement for the refugees still awaiting movement. The governments were especially requested to consider receiving on a humanitarian basis those refugees who are physically handicapped or in other ways incapable of complete self-support. In this connection, the Council was gratified to learn of the interest of the Governments of Norway and the United Kingdom in receiving certain numbers of blind refugees and of those suffering from tuberculosis.

The Council also gave serious consideration to the problem of refugees remaining in Shanghai and the 5,000 refugees presently in temporary

asylum on the island of Samar in the Philippines who had previously been evacuated from Shanghai. The Council voted to make a special request to the Philippine Government to extend the period of temporary asylum already accorded to these refugees in order to provide more time in which IRO might accomplish their removal to places of permanent resettlement.

The effect of recent devaluations of certain currencies on the financial resources of the organization was discussed at length by the Council without reaching final conclusions. Many of the representatives of the member governments whose currencies had been devaluated were unable to state the position of their governments regarding the request of the IRO administration that contributions be made payable in the new rates of exchange after the dates of devaluation. Some representatives commented that the costs of goods and services to IRO in the currencies affected would not rise in the same degree as the increase in payments requested. The problem was finally left for direct negotiation between the Director-General and the governments immediately concerned.

The termination of the International Tracing Service provided a difficult problem for the Council. The International Tracing Service operated by IRO has been active in reuniting families, finding missing refugees, and identifying records of refugees who are missing or who have died. The Western European member governments of IRO require detailed information particularly from Germany on their nationals still missing as a result of the war in order that the benefits of legislation adopted in those countries since the war may be made available to the relatives of the missing persons. The International Tracing Service now has under its jurisdiction many tons of German records which are constantly being searched for the required information. The International Tracing Service will possibly not be able to complete this task before the termination of IRO, and the problem is posed concerning the auspices under which this tracing service may be maintained on a continuing basis after the termination of IRO. The Council reached no final decisions in the matter pending further conferences on the problem between the Director-General and the High Commissioners of the occupying powers in Western Germany.

Ely E. Palmer Appointed to U.N. Conciliation Commission

The President on November 4 approved the appointment of Ely Eliot Palmer of California, Foreign Service officer of the rank of career minister, as the United States representative on the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine. Mr. Palmer replaces Paul A. Porter, who has resigned to resume his private law practice.

The United States in the United Nations

[November 11-19]

General Assembly Plenary

Trusteeship.—The General Assembly, on November 15, completed consideration of the reports on the Trusteeship Council and the question of administrative unions affecting trust territories. It adopted seven resolutions proposed in the two reports. The resolutions: (1) endorse the recommendations which the Trusteeship Council had made to the administering authorities to hasten the political advancement of the trust territories, and report on this to the next session of the General Assembly; (2) recommend that the Trusteeship Council accelerate its examination of petitions and ask that its visiting missions to trust territories report fully on the steps taken toward the realization of the objectives of the Charter in respect to trust territories; (3) endorse the Trusteeship Council's recommendations that the indigenous inhabitants of trust territories be given a greater participation in the economic life of the territories and reaffirming the principle that the interests of those inhabitants must be paramount in all economic plans or policies in the territories; (4) endorse the abolition of child marriages, corporal punishment, discriminatory laws and practices in trust territories; (5) urge that information on the United Nations and the trusteeship system be taught in the schools of trust territories and that administering authorities give special prominence to improving and increasing educational facilities in the trust territories; (6) recommend that the United Nations flag be flown over trust territories alongside the territorial flag; and (7) send the question of administrative unions back to the Trusteeship Council to complete its investigation and report to the next session of the Assembly. The United States supported all of these resolutions.

Economic Development.—The General Assembly, on November 16, approved the four resolutions on the question of economic development of underdeveloped countries. These resolutions deal with: (1) an expanded program of technical assistance to be financed by voluntary contributions and to be carried out by the United Nations and the specialized agencies; (2) the program of

technical assistance for economic development carried out by the United Nations itself under the regular budget; (3) instructions to the Economic and Social Council with regard to its future work in the field, with special stress on financing; and (4) the influence of international economic and commercial policy on economic development.

United States delegate, Wilson Compton, supported all the resolutions, after deletion of a phrase in the fourth resolution regarding the controversial protective tariffs provision for underdeveloped countries.

Political Committee

Essentials of Peace.—The Committee devoted the week to intensive debate on the Soviet proposal for condemnation of the preparations for a new war and the conclusion of a five-power pact for the strengthening of peace, and a counterproposal of the United States and the United Kingdom entitled "Essentials of Peace." Andrei Y. Vyshinsky in presenting the Soviet proposal, said that it was the logical result of the policy of peace consistently followed by the Soviet Union for the last 32 years. Only "enemies of peace" could raise any objections to the Soviet proposal, he declared.

Ambassador Warren R. Austin, who introduced the joint resolution of the United States and the United Kingdom, said that the resolution set forth "basic requirements of peace" and sought to "erect a standard to which all believers in peace and all supporters of the United Nations may repair." It was, Mr. Austin said, "incompatible" with the Soviet proposal which "should be rejected . . . as an attempt to slander, obstruct and deceive." He reviewed the "long, unhappy list of broken Soviet pledges" and "power-grabbing action" which had forced peace-loving nations to seek other paths toward their goal.

The Yugoslav delegate declared that he could not support the Soviet proposal in its entirety because of the discrepancy between the words of the Soviet Government and the "deeds" of the Soviet policy against Yugoslavia. Nor could Yugoslavia support in its entirety the joint proposal of the United States and the United Kingdom, he said, since certain paragraphs of that proposal pre-

judged the attitude of delegations with regard to the veto question and the problem of the control of atomic energy.

Ad Hoc Political Committee

Atomic Energy.—The Committee completed consideration of the question of the international control of atomic energy by adopting, on November 14, a joint Canadian-French proposal which asks the permanent members of the Atomic Energy Commission (Canada, China, France, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States) to continue their consultations with a view to determining whether they might reach an agreement on this question. The resolution also "recommends that all nations, in their use of their rights of sovereignty, join in mutual agreement to limit the individual exercise of those rights in the control of atomic energy to the extent required . . . for the promotion of world security and peace, and recommends that all nations agree to exercise such rights jointly." The vote was 48 to 5 (Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Ukraine, U.S.S.R.), with 3 abstentions (Israel, Union of South Africa, and Yugoslavia). The Committee rejected: (1) a proposal by India to ask the International Law Commission to prepare a draft declaration on the duties of states and individuals regarding atomic energy to insure its use for peaceful purposes only; (2) a proposal by the Soviet Union, to ask the Atomic Energy Commission to resume its work and proceed forthwith to the preparation of simultaneous conventions on the prohibition of atomic weapons and the control of atomic energy; (3) a proposal by Argentina, asking the permanent members of the Atomic Energy Commission to make every effort to secure, in the shortest possible time, a provisional agreement which would "include as a minimum a renunciation of the use of the atomic weapon for purposes of aggression."

Arms Census.—The Committee received a joint French-Norwegian draft resolution which approved the proposals formulated by the Commission for Conventional Armaments for the "submission by member states of full information on conventional armaments and armed forces and the verification thereof" and recommends that the Security Council "despite the lack of unanimity among its permanent members on this essential feature of its work" continue to study the question through the Commission for Conventional

Armaments "in accordance with its plan of work in order to make such progress as is possible." United States delegate, John D. Hickerson, contended that this resolution was a "real incursion into the field of actual operations." It had evolved out of the Soviet Union's "sweeping and specious one-third disarmament proposals" and was based on the need for precise data before intelligent attention could be given to a practical disarmament plan. The census and verification scheme contained in the French-Norwegian measure provided the necessary practical basis but the Soviet Union had "thus far" refused to accept it.

Soviet delegate, Yakov A. Malik, opposed the plan for a world-arms census and verification, condemned the "Anglo-American bloc's" position, and insisted that no solution of armaments reduction could be achieved apart from the atomic energy problem. He introduced a resolution which stated: "The General Assembly recognizes as essential the submission by states both of information on armed forces and conventional armaments and of information on atomic weapons."

Social Committee

Refugees.—The Committee on November 15 approved the joint French-United States proposal for a high commissioner to furnish assistance and legal protection of refugees after the termination of the International Refugee Organization in 1951. United States delegate, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, explained that the United States voted against the resolution in its amended form because the proposal leaves the way open for a very broad interpretation of the term "refugee," implying material as well as legal assistance on a virtual "blank-check" basis. It committed the United Nations, and the United States as the largest contributor, to financing of undefined functions. The resolution is subject to approval of the General Assembly.

Trusteeship Committee

The Trusteeship Committee adopted resolutions which: (1) invite the special committee on information from non-self-governing territories to examine the factors involved in deciding whether any territory is or is not non-self-governing; (2) invite the Secretary-General to publish periodically data on special aspects of progress in non-self-governing territories; (3) request the Secretary-General to keep the special committee on non-self-governing territories informed of the nature of technical assistance granted to such territories. . . .

THE RECORD OF THE WEEK

1944-1949: Five Years in Our Time

*by Eugenie Anderson, Ambassador to Denmark*¹

MADAM CHAIRMAN, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS, MEMBERS OF THE WOMEN'S NATIONAL PRESS CLUB, AND FRIENDS: This is indeed an honor and a pleasure for me to be your guest on the occasion of my first official appearance as United States Ambassador to Denmark. It is a pleasure as well, but one that I would enjoy more, if I could speak to you without notes as I have been accustomed to doing. I shall try to speak directly and simply and of the things which I know best.

Of course, I understand, as I believe that you do, that when President Truman nominated me as our first woman ambassador, he did so as a symbol of his own belief in the abilities of women in public life. I know that he intended my appointment to signify to all women that he recognizes our growing assumption of mature responsible citizenship, our work for the public good, not simply as women and mothers, but as citizens and as people.

I hope that you will excuse me if I speak to you rather personally for the next few minutes. For, I believe that many of you want to know how and why I have come in the past 5 years from my first precinct caucus to my present challenging position. It's true that very hard work has had a great deal to do with it, but there have been other forces—forces greater than any individual person. They are the same forces that have molded you in the past 5 years, the same forces that have changed most of the American people, the same inescapable realities that have shaped our Nation's foreign policy—that have made us turn outward to the world, that have forced us however reluct-

antly to assume a new role of creative leadership in the world—to accept the responsibilities that go with maturity and with great power.

When we look back upon these past 5 years in our national life, we see that 5 years ago there was not yet in existence a United Nations structure. It was still a dream in the minds of a relatively few. Five years ago we had formulated no plan to rehabilitate Europe. There was no non-Communist liberal movement. In fact, there was no broad comprehension of the Communist problem among the liberal and labor forces. There was barely an integrated statement of the values for which we had fought the war. No single step in the subsequent development of our foreign policy—ECA, the Atlantic pact, or MAP—can stand alone. But in the formulation of these programs a clear pattern is emerging forged from the terrible realities of our time. These programs are deeply rooted in the great democratic traditions of America and of Western civilization.

My own part in the political process by which these new steps have been accepted by our people has been like that of so many other men and women. I was only one of that great group of ivory-tower liberals who in 1944 for the first time in their lives did more than talk about politics. It's true that before that time I had studied political, social, and economic questions. I had worked for several years in the League of Women Voters, which of course was a good training ground for direct political participation. But I was only one of many who suddenly realized that the victories of the war would not be guaranties for democracy: that winning the war merely gave us a new chance to keep working, but that unless there was a far

¹Address made before the Women's National Press Club on Nov. 1, 1949, and released to the press on the same date.

greater participation by many more citizens at many more levels of government, that we would lose by default the great victories for which so many had died.

We knew then that it would not be enough to win the war, but that there must continue to be a national administration committed to the building of a United Nations. We knew that this could not be done if there were too many men in Congress who still longed to return to the illusory comforts of isolationism.

So it was that I entered partisan politics in the spring of 1944 with the hope of replacing an isolationist Congressman in my district with a man who believed in international cooperation after the war. We lost in my own Congressional district in 1944 and 1946 and 1948. But we did move the State of Minnesota out of the isolationist shadow.

In 1946, we in Minnesota, like liberals in so many other parts of the world, experienced the full impact of the new Communist offensive. We in the Democratic Farmer Labor Party in Minnesota were "taken over" by the Communist Party. Now one can read any number of books about the nature of communism, but unless and until one has been in actual political combat with the Communist Party, I doubt if it is possible to understand fully the destructiveness of Communists at work.

We learned the hard way how Communists thrive on confusion and disorganization—because too many of us were confused and without the strength of democratic agreement. We learned the bitter way how Communists can subvert an innocent majority into a chaotic mass—can use without any moral scruples decent but unsophisticated people, use them as their own instruments and toss them aside after they have ceased to be useful.

But we also came to learn that if Communists could work hard, we could work harder; that if Communists could confuse issues, that we could clarify them. We learned that if Communists could plan strategy, that we could plan it better—because our strategy was made not just by one or two at the top, but by many good heads at many levels. We discovered too that while Communists could accept dictatorship that we could discipline ourselves and that once we had arrived by democratic means at a given position, we knew how to carry it through together.

Perhaps more than anything else we learned to have faith—deep faith—in the majority of people, in their ability to make the right choices when they know the truth and are armed with information and inspiration.

This experience in Minnesota in 1946—when the Communists seized the Democratic Farmer Labor Party—was of course a turning point in my own political orientation—just as at the same time this new anti-Communist orientation was developing

in the whole American liberal and labor movement and, just as it was being forced upon all the free nations of the world.

We in Minnesota did what other liberals and democratic peoples have done: we formed an organization, the Americans for Democratic Action, dedicated to the development of a positive dynamic liberal program. We excluded Communists from our organization—we recognized that we must tell the people the truth about communism and that at the same time we must give them something positive to be for. Under the leadership of Senator Humphrey, we succeeded in 1948 not only in ousting completely the Communists from the Democratic Farmer Labor Party, but we also laid the foundations for the building of a great coalition party of farmers—workers and liberals in general—and of course we carried the State of Minnesota in 1948 for President Truman. We sent Senator Humphrey to the Senate and four informed liberals to the House.

We knew that we were working in 1947 and 1948 not only for the destruction of Communist influence; we knew that we were participating in the public understanding of the new structure our foreign-policy architects were creating. Sometimes I have wondered whether we ourselves have grasped the really revolutionary nature of our postwar foreign policy and the deeply humanitarian basis on which it has been constructed. We should be proud—we are proud—that there are men and women in America today who have dared to merge their dreams and their common sense in the bold and imaginative programs which today comprise our foreign policy.

I know that there are some who say that this policy is based solely on our own self-interest—as indeed any foreign policy must be in part. But there are many kinds of self-interest among nations as among individuals. There is the kind which thinks only in terms of sheer physical survival—a concept which I am sure most of us view as a barren and unrewarding if not impossible one. Then there is the kind which thinks only in terms of brute power and force. There is also that self-interest which faces the facts of the modern world, which accepts the necessity for modern man to change himself before he destroys himself in a race with time against the terrible forces he himself has produced. This higher kind of self-interest recognizes that we are indeed all brothers and sisters bound closer and closer by science and technology; that unless we survive together we shall perish together—and with us will go down all the values for which we have struggled for more than 2,000 years. We can use these same immense new forces of science and technology—capable it is true of enormous destruction—for the building of a better life—not alone for the American people—but for all those people who are free to grow and to create with us—not utopia, not perfection, but a saner society and a freer world than the one we face in our time.

Restitution of Looted Property

An FEC Decision¹

On September 22 and October 6, 1949, the Far Eastern Commission approved amendments to one of its earlier policy decisions on the subject of restitution of looted property.

It will be recalled that on July 29, 1948, the Far Eastern Commission approved a policy decision governing the restitution of property found in Japan which could be identified as having been looted from Allied countries.² Among other things, the policy authorized the Supreme Commander for the Allied powers to liquidate property known to have been looted but which, after careful inspection, could not be identified as to ownership. The proceeds from such liquidation would form a secured fund which SCAP was authorized to use at his discretion, as a credit basis for the occupation, provided that he preserved its initial value. The policy provided that the fund should ultimately be distributed by October 1, 1949, among the countries looted by Japan during the war (Australia, China, France, India, the Netherlands, the Philippines, and the United Kingdom) in proportion to the "recognized national reparations shares" of those countries.

As the specified date of October 1, 1949, approached, it was evident that the distribution of the secured fund in the manner provided for in the policy would be impossible for two reasons: SCAP had not yet been able to complete the liquidation of all the unidentified looted property; the countries represented on the Far Eastern Commission had not yet been able to agree on a schedule of shares for reparations from Japan on which distribution of the secured fund was to have been based.

In the light of this situation, the Far Eastern Commission on September 22, 1949, extended the deadline date of October 1, 1949, by amending paragraph 8 of its policy on restitution of looted property as follows:

The secured fund shall be made available for distribution to the recipient countries not later than 1 April 1950.

On October 6, 1949, the Far Eastern Commission approved a further amendment taking account of the fact that reparations shares had not

yet been agreed on by the Far Eastern Commission. This amendment reads as follows:

The secured fund should finally be distributed among the countries herein specified (Australia, China, France, India, the Netherlands, the Philippines, and the United Kingdom) in accordance with the percentages mentioned above [i.e., reparations shares], or in accordance with a schedule of shares to be agreed upon by such countries, payable in United States dollars or, at the discretion of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, in foreign exchange acceptable to the countries concerned.

The above amendment thus makes it possible, in the absence of an agreed schedule of reparations shares, for the seven looted countries to work out among themselves a schedule of shares applicable to the distribution of the secured fund.

U.S. Asks Withdrawal of Certain Czechoslovak Employees

On October 31, the Department of State made the following announcement:

This Government has informed the Czechoslovak Embassy in Washington that Dr. Ervin Munk, Consul General of Czechoslovakia at New York, and Jan Horvath, housekeeper of the Embassy of Czechoslovakia, are persons *non gratae* to this Government and their immediate withdrawal from the United States by the Czechoslovak Government has been requested.

Finnish Compensation Claims Settled

[Released to the press November 1]

The United States Government today paid the Finnish Government \$5,574,739.27 in settlement of claims for compensation arising out of the requisitioning in 1941 and 1942 of 15 Finnish vessels lying in United States ports. The amount paid includes interest at 4 percent. A difference of opinion has existed between the Finnish ship-owners and the appropriate United States agencies as to the amount of compensation payable. Today's payment, satisfactory to all the parties, follows the dismissal in the United States Court of Claims of suits for compensation against the United States Government.

The payment was made pursuant to a rider to an omnibus appropriation measure passed by the House of Representatives as its last legislative act on the last day of the first session of the 81st Congress. In view of the traditional friendly relations between the Finnish and the American peoples, the Congress with virtual unanimity approved immediate payment and selected this method for accomplishing it.

¹ Amendments approved by the Far Eastern Commission and released to the press on Oct. 25, 1949. Directives based upon these policy decisions have been forwarded by the U.S. Government to the Supreme Commander for the Allied powers for implementations.

² *The Far Eastern Commission, Second Report of the Secretary General*, Department of State publication 3240, p. 37.

First Mutual Defense Teams Leave for Europe

Statement by Acting Secretary Webb

[Released to the press November 9]

Representatives of the Department of State and the Department of Defense will leave Thursday, November 10, for Europe where they will conduct further discussions concerning the suitability of proposed mutual defense assistance programs to the specific requirements of recipient countries. The groups will conduct their discussions with representatives of the North Atlantic Treaty countries which are to receive assistance under the mutual Defense Assistance Program.

The inauguration of these programs, under the Mutual Defense Assistance Act of 1949, will necessarily await the signing of bilateral agreements on which negotiations were begun last week. After these agreements are signed, and after the President has approved recommendations for the integrated defense of the North Atlantic area by the Council and Defense Committee under the North Atlantic Treaty, the full amount of the appropriated funds and the contract authority will be available for the assistance program.

The representatives are traveling by air to London, Rome, and Oslo. The group proceeding to London will conduct its discussions in London with representatives of the Western Union countries (United Kingdom, France, Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands). The group going to Oslo will also discuss the proposed Mutual Defense Assistance Program with representatives of Denmark in Copenhagen.

In Europe, the units will work in close cooperation with representatives of the Department of State, the Department of Defense, and the ECA, located in the various countries. ECEA personnel on the survey teams will be detailed from ECA Missions abroad by Ambassador Harriman. ECA has the function of examining the economic impact of the MDAP on the economic recovery of Europe. The personnel of the group leaving Washington is as follows:

For London and Western Union Countries

Richard B. Freund, representative of the Director for MDAP; G. McMurtrie Godley, Department of State; Lt. Col. Hamilton A. Twitchell, Office of the Secretary of Defense; Lt. Col. Bernard Thielen; Maj. Ralph E. Vandervort; Capt. Lloyd H. Thomas; Commander Samuel F. Quarles; Col. Quinton T. Quick; Col. William E. Rentz; Lt. Col. Paul E. Greiner.

For Rome

Leonard Unger, representative of the director for the MDAP; Capt. Vernon Huber; Lt. Comdr. E. L. Andronik; Lt. Col. John F. Franklin; Col. Robt. D. Offer; Maj. William B. Hynd; Col. David Likes.

For Norway and Denmark

C. Gray Bream, representative of the Director for MDAP; Lt. Col. Harold N. Moorman; Maj. William M. Leffingwall; Lt. Col. Harold T. Morris; Lt. Col. Harold A. Radetsky; Maj. Everett E. Binford; Capt. Warner S. Rodimon; Lt. Comdr. Ernest R. Peterson.

Additional Department Appointments

The Department of State has assigned the following personnel to posts in Europe in connection with the Mutual Defense Assistance Program:

James F. Hodgson has been assigned as special assistant to the Ambassador in Oslo for MDAP with the rank of counselor of Embassy; Raymond P. Ludden has been assigned to the Embassy in Brussels as special assistant for MDAP with the rank of counselor.

Sidney O'Donoghue has been assigned to The Hague as special assistant to the Ambassador for MDAP with the rank of counselor of Embassy; Harold Shantz has been assigned as special assistant to the Ambassador in Copenhagen for MDAP and will have the rank of counselor of Embassy; Edward G. Trueblood has been designated program coordinator of MDAP for France.

THE DEPARTMENT

Mutual Defense Assistance Office Established

1. To facilitate the orderly and systematic conduct of the Department's responsibility under the Mutual Defense Assistance Act of 1949 and applicable Executive Order (s), there is hereby established in the Department the position of Director of Mutual Defense Assistance (S/MDA) who shall be a Special Assistant to the Secretary, effective this date.

2. Ambassador James Bruce has been designated Director, Mutual Defense Assistance. He was nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate, taking office on October 17, 1949.

3. Under the direction of the Secretary and the Under Secretary of State the Director is assigned the general responsibility of carrying out the provisions of the Act in accordance with applicable Executive Order (s).

4. The Director shall have action responsibility in the Department of State for administering the Mutual Defense Assistance Act with appropriate review or advice by other offices of the Department. The Director shall:

a. Serve as the Secretary of State's representative with representatives of the Department of Defense and ECA on the Foreign Military Assistance Coordinating Committee, and chair the Committee (FMACC).

b. Assure the establishment and maintenance of necessary working relationships with the Department of Defense, ECA and other agencies having responsibility for policy, advice and operational activities in the mutual defense assistance program.

c. Be responsible for initiating and formulating Departmental positions required in connection with the role and responsibility of the Department of State in administering the Mutual Defense Assistance Act.

d. Assure the necessary coordination with other departments and agencies where their interests are involved or their services required.

e. Recommend to the Secretary final Departmental approval of programs of mutual defense assistance.

f. Direct the allocations of funds for the purpose of carrying out the programs of mutual defense assistance approved by the Department of State.

g. Initiate or review all communications to and from United States diplomatic missions and representatives abroad on matters concerning the overseas administration of the act.

h. Prepare or direct the preparation of reports and prepare summary program reports designed to provide such information as may be necessary and appropriate concerning the activities of the Department and of other collaborating departments and agencies of the government under authority of the act.

i. Plan for and expedite the preparation of manuals of procedure and instructions to the overseas organization for mutual defense assistance.

j. Provide for the definition of pertinent policy, reconciliation of disagreements with respect to policy, and the solution of operational disagreements arising in the United States or abroad among United States political, economic and military interests concerned in the furnishing of mutual defense assistance.

k. Stimulate and follow-up on Department of Defense and ECA supply action in accordance with approved programs.

l. Plan for appropriate domestic and overseas program of public information in collaboration with public information agencies of the Department of State, Department of Defense and ECA.

m. The Director shall serve as the channel for the formal interchange of information concerning mutual defense assistance among collaborating agencies.

5. The Director, as a principal policy officer responsible to the Secretary shall be provided with the necessary staff to carry out the responsibilities of his office.

6. This Announcement supercedes Departmental Announcement 43, April 6, 1949, paragraph 3 of Departmental Announcement 130, August 12, 1949, and Departmental Announcement 154, September 14, 1949.¹

Appointment of Officers

John B. Howard, as Special Assistant to the Secretary, has been detailed to assist the Assistant Secretary for Far Eastern Affairs, effective October 24, 1949.

¹ Not previously printed.

Department of State Facilities Available to Educational and Research Institutions

The Department of State is constantly seeking to improve its facilities for making available to the American people information and research materials on United States foreign policy and international relations. Since educational and research institutions have a direct and continuing interest in these matters, the Department is eager to be of service to them.

Any inquiry addressed to the appropriate Departmental unit will receive considerate attention. To assist in determining the appropriate unit before making inquiry, there follows a list of offices, divisions, and staffs, supplemented by descriptions of special facilities for furnishing desired information or assisting in projected research.

1. Office of Public Affairs
 - Division of Public Liaison
 - Division of Publications
 - Division of Historical Policy Research
2. Office of Educational Exchange
 - Division of Exchange of Persons
3. Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for Intelligence
 - External Research Staff
 - Division of Library and Reference Services

OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Division of Public Liaison

The Division of Public Liaison answers inquiries from schools, colleges, universities, educational organizations, research groups, and individuals seeking information concerning the Department of State, the Foreign Service, and the current foreign policy and international relations of the United States.

Other services made available by the Division include: arranging appointments with policy officers of the Department; arranging periodic national and regional conferences for the purpose of making available to representatives of organizations background information on foreign-policy matters; and consulting on special needs of individuals and organizations for information regarding developments in the field of foreign policy.

The Division is also responsible for transmitting the views of organizations, institutions, and individuals on matters pertaining to foreign policy to the appropriate officers of the Department.

Division of Publications

The major function of the Division of Publications is to contribute to public knowledge and understanding of the various aspects of United

States foreign policy through books, pamphlets, and periodicals. These publications are prepared on the basis of a planned program designed to meet the public and professional demands for information on current subjects as well as background for understanding and interpreting trends in the United States conduct of its foreign relations.

The Division periodically releases lists of publications that are available from the Department of State or are sold by the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office. It is planning to release publication lists on specific subjects, such as foreign policy as a whole, atomic energy and conventional armaments, collective security, economics, international flow of information, scientific and cultural cooperation, specialized agencies of the United Nations, and the United Nations in general.

The Division of Publications has the responsibility for preparing and editing the Department of State *BULLETIN*, *Statutes at Large*, slip laws, *Diplomatic List*, *Foreign Consular Offices in the United States*, *Foreign Service List*, and the *Register of the Department of State*. It also edits the *Foreign Relations of the United States*, the *Treaties and Other International Acts Series*, *Treaty Developments*, and the *U. S. National Commission Unesco News*.

The Division expects to continue its cooperation with the professional associations at their annual conferences in order to discover how well the Department's publications program is meeting their needs and to exchange ideas on ways to meet those needs more effectively in the future. The Division will send to these group meetings, whenever practical, an exhibit of its publications, and on many occasions a representative will be present to answer questions on the program and on the procurement of materials.

Budget requirements place certain limitations on the free distribution of the Department's publications. It is the Division's desire, however, to place sample copies in the hands of leadership groups. The Department must encourage the general public to purchase the publications from the Superintendent of Documents, United States Government Printing Office.

Because of the intense interest of the American public in the field of foreign affairs, the Division of Publications has established the following unofficial distribution centers: (1) World Affairs Council of Philadelphia,¹ 1411 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania; (2) World Affairs Council of Northern California,¹ 623 Sutter Street, San Francisco 2, California; (3) Social Science Foundation, University of Denver, Denver 10, Colorado; (4) Chicago Council on Foreign

Relations,¹ 116 S. Michigan Avenue, Chicago 1, Illinois; (5) International House, Gavier and Camp Streets, New Orleans 12, Louisiana; (6) United Council on World Affairs,¹ 355-A Boylston Street, Boston 16, Massachusetts; (7) Minnesota United Nations Association, 150 Nicholson Hall, Minneapolis 14, Minnesota; (8) Center for International Understanding,¹ 1207 Commercial Exchange Building, Los Angeles 14, California; (9) Council on World Affairs of Greater Kansas City, 1001 Dwight Building, Kansas City 2, Missouri; (10) Woodrow Wilson Foundation,¹ 45 East Sixty-fifth Street, New York 21, New York; (11) Southeastern Association for Adult Education, University of North Carolina, Extension Division, Chapel Hill, North Carolina; (12) Council on World Affairs,¹ 922 Society for Savings Building, Cleveland 14, Ohio; (13) Southwestern Legal Foundation, Southern Methodist University, Dallas 5, Texas; (14) Library,¹ University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah; (15) American Association for the United Nations,¹ 909 Fourth Avenue, Seattle 4, Washington; and (16) St. Louis Council on World Affairs, Inc.,¹ 418 Olive Street, St. Louis, Missouri.

Division of Historical Policy Research

The major function of the Division of Historical Policy Research is the preparation of research studies and documentary compilations in the broad field of American foreign policy and diplomatic relations. Some of these works are prepared for use by policy-formulating officers of the Department, and some for release to the public. From Departmental files, the Division compiles our annual diplomatic record in *Foreign Relations of the United States*, and occasional special publications.

Through this Division, the Department has progressively liberalized its policy regarding the use of its files by nonofficial researchers. Departmental records dated prior to January 1, 1924 are now in the National Archives and in general are available for use by the public. Qualified persons, engaged in important research in the fields of American foreign policy and general international relations are granted, under appropriate regulations, access to records dated as late as January 1, 1933. The records of the still more recent period are "closed." However, the Committee on the Use of Departmental Files may make special categories of these records available to highly qualified researchers "in exceptional circumstances upon determination that the interests of national policy are served thereby."

The Division of Historical Policy Research is the channel for receiving requests for special historical information to be found in the records still in the custody of the Department. It is also the designated channel for receiving all applications from researchers for the use of Departmental records.

¹ Centers selling Department of State publications.

Since the Division finds it impossible to devote sufficient staff resources to meet the needs of the Department's policy-formulating officers, it is developing a program under which nonofficial scholars may be encouraged to undertake studies that might be useful to the Department. It therefore invites inquiries regarding topics and resources for research in the field of United States Foreign policy and diplomatic relations. It is also actively engaged in the preparation of a bibliography of unpublished studies in this field and would appreciate receiving information on projects being undertaken by individual scholars and research institutions.

OFFICE OF EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE

Division of Exchange of Persons

The Division of Exchange of Persons has basic responsibility for the direction and over-all administration of the Government's interchange-of-persons program under the Act for Cooperation with the Other American Republics (Public Law 355, 76th Congress), the Smith-Mundt Act (Public Law 402, 80th Congress), and the Fulbright Act (Public Law 584, 79th Congress).

At present the Division administers directly the exchange of professors and specialists under the Smith-Mundt Act and the Act for Cooperation with the Other American Republics. Persons wishing to apply for such exchanges should write to this Division. In other programs the Department utilizes the services and facilities of other Federal agencies and of voluntary organizations in their special fields of competence. American graduate students wishing to pursue further study in the other American Republics should write to the Division of International Educational Relations, United States Office of Education, Washington, D. C.

Persons wishing to go abroad under Public Law 584, the Fulbright Act, should write to the appropriate one of the following agencies:

For graduate study

Institute of International Education
2 West 45th Street
New York 19, New York

For teaching in national elementary and secondary schools

Division of International Educational Relations
United States Office of Education
Washington 25, D.C.

For college teaching, postdoctoral research, and for teaching in American elementary and secondary schools abroad

Conference Board of Associated Research Councils
2101 Constitution Avenue, NW.
Washington 25, D.C.

The Division also provides information and counsel to organizations sponsoring interchange-of-persons programs and enlists the cooperation of American missions abroad in expediting desirable projects. The Division would appreciate receiving from organizations sponsoring such programs available information and literature pertaining thereto.

SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INTELLIGENCE

External Research Staff

The Special Assistant to the Secretary of State for Intelligence is responsible for the Department's research concerned with economic, social, political, and cultural conditions in foreign areas and the Department's library and reference services. These programs are carried on through the Office of Intelligence Research and the Office of Libraries and Intelligence-Acquisition.

While the Department carries on its own intelligence research program, consisting of reports to aid in the formulation and execution of both long-range and day-to-day policies, it recognizes that many outstanding scholars and authorities on economic, social, and political conditions in foreign areas are outside the Government and that a great deal of valuable research on foreign areas is done or directed by them. The Department desires to utilize the product of this research as fully as possible and wishes to provide all possible assistance to scholars in the social sciences working on foreign areas.

The responsibility for a program to insure that the Department is informed about research in progress on foreign areas, that the product of such research is available, and that appropriate assistance is given to scholars in the social sciences working on foreign areas has been centered in the External Research Staff. This Staff carries out the program in cooperation with the various divisions of the Office of Intelligence Research and the Office of Libraries and Intelligence-Acquisition. The External Research Staff invites inquiries regarding topics and resources for research on foreign areas.

Division of Library and Reference Services

The Division of Library and Reference Services of the Office of Libraries and Intelligence-Acquisition maintains and services the Department's central collection of reference materials pertaining to foreign areas of the world and their peoples. The collection is particularly strong on economic,

cultural, social, and political subjects, including international law, diplomatic history, political and social science, domestic and foreign law, and other subjects related to the work of the Department of State.

In addition to foreign reference books, the following kinds of material and the information contained therein are cataloged, classified, and analyzed by subject: United States and foreign government reports, foreign newspapers and periodicals, pamphlets and documents. There are a million and a half card references to the 450,000 books and 1,200,000 documents in the collection.

The following services are available to qualified scholars on request: supplying all available information and documentation pertaining to specific subjects; loaning of individual books and documents; compiling of lists of references or bibliographies on a given subject; arranging inter-library loan; and furnishing data relative to sources of information in the Washington area.

Death of Former Secretary Stettinius

Statement by Secretary Acheson

[Released to the press October 31]

I was saddened and shocked to learn today of the death of the former Secretary of State, the Honorable Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. During the critical period of World War II and immediately thereafter, he gave his efforts devotedly and effectively to his country. As Lend-Lease Administrator, Under Secretary and Secretary of State, and as United States representative to the United Nations, he made many contributions to the winning of the war and toward the building of a secure peace. We remember particularly the immeasurable contributions he made to the establishment of the United Nations.

Although Mr. Stettinius withdrew from public life some time ago, the Department of State always knew it could count on his friendly advice and continued interest in accomplishing the objectives for which he had worked during the period of his government service. It was my privilege to serve with and under Mr. Stettinius, and I join with the nation in mourning his death.

Chinese Communist Notices—Continued from page 760

(5) Foreign residents and Chinese having joint ownership of real estate shall also apply for registration (of the estate) according to the provisions of these measures.

(6) Where survey, for reasons, is necessary in regard to foreign residents' application for registering real estate, the land survey and resurvey procedures stipulated by the Land Board shall be followed.

(7) These measures shall become effective on the day of publication.

The Department of State has been informed that the Peiping Communist newspaper, *Jen Min Jih Pao*, has published a proclamation of the Peiping "People's Municipal Government," governing registration of real estate held by aliens in the municipal area and suburbs. It is the Department's understanding that the provisions are essentially the same as those published in the Peiping Communist newspaper, *Kuang Ming Jih Pao*, of which the following is an unofficial translation:

In order facilitate control over aliens' property (both buildings and land) in this municipality, Municipal Land Administration Bureau has specially formulated measures for dealing with application for registration of aliens' real estate in Peiping municipality. Measures provide that in respect to all property (buildings and land) owned by aliens in municipality, owner or legal representative bearing a power of attorney should, between September 15 and end of October 1949, get application forms from Bureau and apply for registration. In applying for registration of real estate, aside from referring to measures provided in "Rules for Registration of Real Estate in Municipal Area," following procedure should be followed:

(A) Submit for examination complete set of title deeds (all title deeds in foreign languages should be accompanied by Chinese translation, latter to be accepted as correct version.) Receipts shall be issued by Bureau.

(B) Bring applicants' name, seal, and residence certificate.

(C) If applicant is religious body, school, company, store, social body, or other such organization, procedure shall be handled by responsible person or by designated agent. In addition, foreigners should fill out accurately and in detail facts concerning all their buildings and land, location, house number, use of property, present state of buildings and/or land, and from whom it was acquired, without concealment or omission or fabrication.

Any property (building or land) acquired by a foreigner in name of a Chinese or under any other name shall also be correctly registered without concealing facts. And particularly without committing acts such as concealing enemy or bogus property or invading other public or private property rights. Violators will definitely be dealt with legally.

The Department has instructed the American consulates general in Tientsin and Peiping to transmit to the appropriate local Communist authorities statements reserving the rights of absent American owners of real property.

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